

GENDER AND WAR DURING THE LATE OTTOMAN AND EARLY
REPUBLICAN PERIODS:
THE CASE OF BLACK FATMA(S)

by
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ABSTRACT

GENDER AND WAR DURING THE LATE OTTOMAN AND EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIODS:

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Key words: gender, militarism, citizenship, nationalism, army.

The complex relation between gender and war assumes various shapes depending on time and context. Focusing on this relation highlights not only women's positioning against the army but also opens paths to see the wider structures and discourses on nationalism, militarism, citizenship, and gender. In this thesis, Black Fatma(s) of 1806, of the Crimean War, of the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878 and of the War of Independence are examined to analyze the construction of discourse of women warriors in different periods of Ottoman and Republican history. Which periods witness a rise in the discourse of Black Fatma(s)? Who talks about them? Which group stresses which part of the story?

Woman as a warrior is an exception in most societies both in the past and in the present, as far as we know. This thesis, focuses upon the meaning and the content of that exception when it appears. How is this exception represented? Why is there a need for such an exception? When does that need occur? Whom does that serve? Does this exception challenge the conventional patriarchal gender roles in wars? Or does that reproduce them? Moving from these questions, the problematic relation between army and women is discussed throughout the thesis.

The 'war' of discourses on Black Fatma(s) still continues today. Therefore, Black Fatma(s) constitute a very rich field not only for understanding the historical development of gender system in the Ottoman and Republican periods, but also for understanding the current policies of different political positions on gender issues.

ÖZET

GEÇ OSMANLI VE ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİ'İNDE TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET VE SAVAŞ: KARA FATMA(LAR)

Zeynep Kutluata

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Anahtar Kelimeler: toplumsal cinsiyet, militarizm, vatandaşlık, milliyetçilik, ordu.

Toplumsal cinsiyet ve savaş arasında, zamana ve koşullara bağlı olarak çeşitli biçimlere bürünen, karmaşık bir ilişki vardır. Bu ilişkiyi mercek altına almak, kadınların ordu karşısında edindikleri pozisyonu açığa çıkardığı gibi, aynı zamanda, milliyetçilik, militarizm, vatandaşlık ve toplumsal cinsiyete ilişkin yapıları ve söylemleri görmemize de olanak sağlar. Bu tezde, Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet tarihinin çeşitli dönemlerinde kadınlara ilişkin olarak kurulan söylemleri analiz etmek üzere, 1806'nın, Kırım Savaşı'nın, 1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı'nın ve Milli Mücadele Dönemi'nin Kara Fatma(lar)'ı üzerine yoğunlaşıyor. Hangi dönemlerde Kara Fatma(lar) söylemi yükselişe geçiyor? Kimler Kara Fatma(lar) hakkında konuşuyor? Kimler, hikayenin hangi yönüne vurgu yapıyor?

Kadın savaşçılar, geçmişte ve günümüzde, istisna olarak karşımıza çıkarlar. Bu çalışmada, bu istisnanın anlamı ve içeriği üzerine yoğunlaşıldı. Bu istisna, nasıl temsil edildi? Neden ihtiyaç duyuldu? Kime hizmet etti? Savaşa ilişkin geleneksel ataerkil rollere meydan okudu mu? Yoksa geleneksel rolleri yeniden mi üretti? Bu sorulardan hareketle ordu ve kadınlar arasındaki karmaşık ilişki tez boyunca tartışılmaktadır.

Kara Fatma(lar)'a ilişkin söylem savaşları bugün hala devam etmektedir. Bu nedenle, Kara Fatma(lar), yalnızca geç Osmanlı ve erken Cumhuriyet dönemindeki toplumsal cinsiyet sistemini anlamak için değil, güncel politikaların toplumsal cinsiyet

meselelere ilişkin farklı konumlanışlarını anlamak için de zengin bir alan oluşturmaktadır.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Today, in the popular culture of Turkey, Black Fatma (*Kara Fatma*) is a stereotype generally used by the secularist and Kemalist wing to refer to Islamist women who wear black garments. This frame serves to humiliate Islamist women by representing them as cockroaches, as disgusting black insects. It is very exceptional that the word “Black Fatma” today would have any reference to the warrior women of Anatolia or the heroines of the War of Independence. In this sense, the last popular and political debate between Emine Erdoğan and Canan Arıtman, İzmir deputy of RPP about the costume of Emine Erdoğan and later Emine Erdoğan’s call for *Black Fatmas* as party members is a critical and interesting case to get into the discussion about the historiography of the phrase “Black Fatma”.

This last debate reflects the current popular image and understanding about *Black Fatma(s)*. Canan Arıtman wrote an open letter to Emine Erdoğan on May 22, 2006, saying that she disgraces Turkish woman by her appearance with a headscarf, as the wife of “the” prime minister of Turkey.¹ Her representation of Turkish women in the “official” visits of Tayyip Erdoğan to foreign countries was both humiliating and misrepresenting Turkish women, who “are” or “should be” the symbols of secular Turkey as independent secular women of the Kemalist revolution. The answer to the letter was given by eleven women deputies of *AKP* and this reply was to all Kemalist

¹http://www.ucansupurge.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3062&Itemid=71 “Tesettürlü giyim tarzınızla yurtdışında ülkenizin hemen hemen tüm İslam ülkelerinden bile geri olduğu imajını veriyorsunuz. Belki samimi inancınız gereği tesettürü tercih etmiş olabilirsiniz. Ama sizin giyim tarzınız Türk kadınının genelinin giyim tarzı değildir. Modern Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin kadınları tesettürsüz, çağdaş, batılı giyim tarzını benimsemiştir..Bu nedenle kişisel tercihleriniz yurtdışında Türk kadını ve Türkiye hakkında yanlış imaj yaratılmasına neden olmaktadır...Yurtdışında okumuş, çalışmış, iş veya bilimsel çalışmalar yapmak üzere yurtdışında bulunmuş binlerce kadın onlarca yıl bu konuda mücadele verdik. Ülkemiz ve yaşam biçimimiz çok tanınmadığı için yabancılar bizlere hep ‘Siz ülkenizde çarşaf giyiyorsunuz, yurtdışında bizler gibi giyiniyorsunuz’ derlerdi. Biz de onlara Türk kadınının ülkesinde de çağdaş bir giyim ve yaşam tarzı olduğuna inandırmak için saatlerce dil dökerdik. Binlerce, onbinlerce Türk kadını neredeyse bir ömür boyu süren bu mücadelesini siz ve diğer bakan eşleri bir anda sıfırladınız. Bunu yeniden düzeltmek ne kadar çok zaman alacak diye hayıflanıyoruz... Sizin giyim tarzınıza saygı duymakla birlikte, Türk kadını temsil etmediğinizi bir kez daha vurgulayarak yurtdışında bu giyim tarzıyla temsil görevi yapmamanızı istirham ediyoruz.”

and secularist wing.² Besides the criticism of the homogeneous understanding of Turkish women, the critical point that was raised was about the women taking part in the War of Independence. According to the women deputies of *AKP*, not to recognize women wearing headscarves as legitimate representatives of “Turkish” women was at the same time not recognizing the contribution that “women with headscarves” did to the establishment of the Republic by taking part in the War of Independence. Approximately in a week, Emine Erdoğan, in a dinner she gave for the women deputies of *AKP*, asked women deputies to invite women like Black Fatma(s), to join *AKP*.³ Meaning, *AKP* was looking for women who, like Black Fatma(s) or Nene Hatun, would

² <http://www.ucansupurge.org/> “Demokrasi farklı düşünce, inanç ve yaşam tarzlarının bir arada ve uyum içerisinde yaşamasına olanak sağlayan bir yönetim biçimidir. Anayasamızın değiştirilemez hükümleri arasında yer alan ve milletimizce içselleştirildiği çok açık olan Cumhuriyetimizin demokratik, laik, sosyal bir hukuk devleti olduğunun milleti temsil sıfatı bulunanlarca da içselleştirilmesinin gereği açıktır. Bu bağlamda Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanının eşi ve Cumhuriyet değerlerinin azimli bir savunucusu olan Sayın Emine Erdoğan’ın yaşam tercihlerine yönelik haksız ve yersiz ifadeler kullanılması demokratik tercihlere yönelik bir saldırı niteliği taşımaktadır. Dünya ülkeleri ile ilişkileri ilk kez bu kadar yüksek seviyeye taşıyan ve Türkiye’nin uluslararası itibarını her geçen gün yükselten Sayın Başbakanımızın yanında daima en yakın destekçisi olan Sayın Emine Erdoğan’ın bütün ülkelerde gördüğü itibar, Sayın Arıtman’ın çarpık anlayışına çağdaş dünyanın verdiği güzel bir cevaptır. Kadınların sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi yaşama daha aktif katılımı için mücadele verdiğimiz bir süreçte, kadınlara evde kalma dayatması yapmanın ayrıca çağdaş yaklaşımların çok gerisinde kaldığını düşünüyoruz. Kurtuluş Savaşımızdan bugünlere Türk kadınının temsili tüm milletimizin malumlarıdır. Bu zihniyet olsa olsa İstiklal Savaşında cepheye mermi taşıyan Türk kadınının inkarı anlamını taşımaktadır. Keza tektipçi, çoğulcu bakıştan nasibini almamış, kendi sübjektif yaklaşımını tartışılmaz bir doğru gibi gösteren, dayatmacı öze sahip kanaatlerin toplumu kamplaştırma özlemine hizmetten başka bir katkısı olamayacağının kamuoyunun malumu olduğunu dikkatinize sunarız. Diğer taraftan bu yaklaşımın kadının kendi yaşam biçimini belirleme hakkını, daha açık bir ifadeyle cinsiyetler arası eşitliğin sağlanması yönünde gerçekleştirilen çabaları dinamitlemek anlamına geldiğini düşünüyor ve konuyu kamuoyunun takdirlerine sunuyoruz.” İmza: Güldal Akşit, Nimet Çubukçu, Nüket Hotar Göksel, Halide İncekara, Semiha Öyüş, Remziye Öztoprak, İnci Özdemir, Fatma Şahin, Ayhan Zeynep Tekin, Gülseren Topuz ve Zeynep Karahan Uslu

³ <http://images.google.com.tr/imgres?imgurl=http://www.aksam.com.tr/foto/2006/06/03/g1.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.aksam.com.tr/haber.asp%3Fa%3D42064,3&h=128&w=188&sz=11&hl=tr&start=5&tbnid=gqYECQOn7tRqzM:&tbnh=66&tbnw=97&prev=/images%3Fq%3D%2522kara%2Bfatma%2522%26svnum%3D10%26hl%3Dtr%26lr%3D%26sa%3DG>

“BAŞBAKANLIK Resmi Konutu dün ilginç bir randevuya sahne oldu. Emine Erdoğan, *AKP*’li kadın milletvekillerine bahçede öğle yemeği verdi. 10 kadın vekilin katıldığı yemekte Emine Hanım, milletvekillerine 'Bilgili, akıllı, kariyeri ve donanımıyla her türlü fedakarlıktan kaçınmayacak; Nene Hatun, Kara Fatma ruhuyla hareket edecek kadınları bulup teşkilatlara getirin, partiye üye yapın' dedi.”

sacrifice themselves for the Party. It should also be kept in mind that, Black Fatma, in this context represents strong, willful Anatolian women with headscarves. All this discussion about “headscarves” of “Turkish” women and their connection to the women taking part in the War of Independence should be read as reconstructing and continuously constructing historical images to legitimize the present characters or images. This is a claim to be the founding component of the essence of the Turkish state, this is a claim to “regain” the history of the women with headscarves as the founding members of the Turkish State, and this is a claim to “reconstitute” Islamist ideology as the constitutive power of the Turkish State through women with headscarves.

Besides the Islamists, it is also interesting to note the “secular” Kemalist wing’s positioning against Black Fatma(s). There will be a detailed discussion about this positioning while discussing the Black Fatma(s) of the War of Independence. However, it is important to stress here that, Black Fatma(s) of the War of Independence as heroines of Turkish nation and Black Fatma(s) as the cockroaches of the Islamist way of living co-exist in the discourse of the Kemalist discourse. Reply of the women deputies of AKP is an attack on this “dilemma” which also highlights the war of discourses through the instrumental usage of the image of women as the representatives of the nation.

Another interesting reference about the Black Fatma(s) in 1990s is the representation of one the famous Black Fatma(s) of the War of Independence, Fatma Seher in a radical leftist journal. In *Halkın Kurtuluşu*, Black Fatma is represented as the socialist woman comrade of the socialists of “today”.⁴ And, she was also representing

⁴ http://www.kurtulus-online.com/eskisayilar/h-icin91/halk_gercegimiz.html

“Yine Erzurum’lu olan ve «üç meydan savaşına katılmış» Kara Fatma ise ne kitaplarda yer alır, ne de törenlerle anılır. Cevabını Kara Fatma’nın bazı özelliklerinde bulacağız. Kara Fatma adıyla tanınan Fatma Seher, ilk yerel savunma örgütlerinde yer alır ve Müdafai Hukuk Cemiyetlerinde çalışır. Sosyalizm mücadelesinde savaşan Rus köylü kadınlarını duymuş, onlardan etkilenmiştir. Emperyalizmin işgaline karşı çevresindeki kadınları örgütler, silahlı birlikler kurar. Onbeş kişiyle kurduğu çete giderek büyümüş, sayıları yüzlere varmıştır. 43 kadın ve yediyüz erkektir. Gizlice propaganda çalışmaları yürütmüş birçok genci, kadını çetesine katmayı başarmıştır. Müfrezesi vardır artık ve bizzat cephede savaşmaktadırlar. İnönü savaşında, Sakarya Meydan savaşında, Afyon Meydan savaşında kendi kurduğu müfrezesi ile yer alır. Daha sonraki savaşlarda kadın ve erkek savaşçıların birçoğunu kaybedecektir. Ama Kara Fatma savaşa ve yeni insanlar

the “socialist” characteristic of the War of Independence. According to the story that is told, Black Fatma had very close relation with the Soviet Russia. She was frequently visiting the Soviet embassy and joining the celebrations of May, 1.

Other than the Kemalist, Islamist and radical leftist representations of Black Fatma(s) today, the forth and very critical but also slightly different representation of Black Fatma is in Kurdish historiography. Here, the reference is not to the “Turkish” Black Fatma of the War of Independence, rather “Kurdish” Black Fatma of the Crimean War. An important work on Black Fatma of the Crimean War is a part of the book written by Mehmet Bayrak.⁵ Bayrak’s attempt is to highlight the Kurdish women characters of history and in his work Black Fatma is represented as a strong, independent Kurdish woman heroine. This effort is a part of the effort to build Kurdish history that has long been suppressed and hidden among both the official and “non”-official Turkish history. Representation of Kurdish women in the newly establishing Kurdish historiography is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, with reference to the work of Bayrak, it can be said that Black Fatma, in *Geçmişten Günümüze Kürt Kadını*, is represented as the soul of freedom and the power of struggle of the Kurdish woman. Black Fatma, as a legendary folkloric character, serves as the role model of the Kurdish guerrilla women. Moreover, by making reference to the conditions that make possible for Black Fatma to become a warrior, Bayrak also represents Kara Fatma as a symbol of the equality among men and women in the Kurdish community which is told

örgütlemeye devam edecektir. Yaratıcıdır Kara Fatma: şehre yırtık-pırtık elbiselerle geliyor, çeşitli eşyalar satıyor, akşam olunca da ağır sandıklarla şehirden ayrılıyordu. Bu sandıklar cephane sandığıydı. Tutsak düştü. Düşman 19 gün işkence yaptı. O düşmanın zayıf yanını yakalayarak o halde kaçmayı başarır ve yine müfrezesinin başına geçer. Bu başarısından dolayı kendisine üsteğmenlik rütbesi verilir. İyi bir örgütçü, iyi bir silahçı, iyi bir komutandır. Aynı zamanda sosyalist düşüncelere yakındır. Sovyetlere sempati duyar. Kara Fatma 1922’de Ankara’da 1 Mayıs kutlamalarında. Kutlamada Rusya Sefiri Arolof da bulunmaktadır. Kara Fatma Ankara’da bulunduğu süre içinde Rusya Elçiliğine birkaç kez gitmiş, ilişkiler geliştirmiştir. Rus kadınlarının iç savaşa katılımları ve örgütlenmeleri konusunda bilgi edinerek tecrübesini büyötmeye çalışır....İşte bu sempatisi ve ilişkisi, onun resmi tarihin sayfalarında neden yer almadığının da cevabıdır...Çatır çatır savaşmış, halkı örgütlemiş, örgütlediği birliğe bir kadın olduğu halde komuta edebilmiştir. Ama işte gidip bir de 1 Mayıs kutlamalarına katılmıştır! Anadolu kadınının böyle bir kadın kahramanın varlığından haberdar olması işine gelmez egemenlerin. Ve Fatma Seher, tüm kahramanlıklarına rağmen tarih sayfalarında yok edilir.” 25 Temmuz 1998, *Halk İçin Kurtuluş*, Sayı 91.

⁵ Mehmet Bayrak, *Geçmişten Günümüze Kürt Kadını*, Özge Yayınları, Ankara, 2002.

to have a traditional and historical base. In this sense, Kurdish Black Fatma of the 1800s speaks to “modern” Kurdish women, “modern” Kurdish community and Kurdish women guerrillas. She symbolizes the warrior-like characteristics of women and continuingly the equality that exists “traditionally” between men and women among the Kurdish communities.

Besides the Kurdish community, Mehmet Bayrak’s work on Black Fatma also speaks to Turkish historiography and Turkish collective memory. As will be discussed below, Black Fatma(s) are the Turkish women warriors of the War of Independence and writing the history back, Black Fatma(s) of the Ottoman period were also characterized as Turkish women. In Bayrak’s work, Kurdish Black Fatma is claiming for her identity back. Bayrak, focusing especially on the documents published during the Crimean War, draws attention to the ethnic and religious characteristics of Black Fatma. Black Fatma, as the “Kurdish Amazon” or “Fataras the Kurdish Princess” reclaims her ethnic identity back for Kurdish women.

In this thesis, besides searching for the real characters of *Black Fatma(s)*, the discourse that is established over these legendary women warriors of the Anatolian folk culture will be focused on. As will be mentioned below, there are “objective” documents that mention about the existence of these women, however, these documents will be analyzed as references of the construction of discourse of women warriors in different periods of the Ottoman and Turkish history. Other than the meaning that Black Fatma has today, or the war of discourses in 1990s and 2000s, the thesis will mainly focus on the periods when stories of Black Fatma(s) began to be told. In which periods is there a rise of the discourse of Black Fatma(s)? Who talks about them? Which group stresses which part of the story? Moving from these questions, I want to discuss the problematic relation between the army and women. Rather than trying to find an answer to the big question of whether women’s becoming soldiers strengthens them and thus weakens the patriarchal power or not, I would like to focus on the patriarchal instrumentalization of women going into the army. And, I will argue that in the cases of Black Fatma(s), patriarchal system works to manipulate the image of warrior woman to strengthen the system itself through nationalist and sometimes religious discourses. The image that is created through Black Fatma(s) is not independent women of the society, rather the female mirrors of the nation or the Islamic community.

The literature about women and war in the Ottoman period is very weak. And the existing ones⁶ are more descriptive in the sense that, rather than trying to highlight the working of gender system in the processes of war, they give information about women's participation in the Ottoman army. The literature about women and the War of Independence is richer compared to the Ottoman period. In recent years, there has been significant academic writing on the relation between war and gender during the War of Independence.⁷ Apart from academic writing, there is also an increasing interest on women in the War of Independence in the official writing as well.⁸

The aim of this thesis is to introduce the genre of Black Fatma(s) and to ask questions about the working of gender system during wars both in the Ottoman Period and in the early Republican Period. As mentioned above, Black Fatma still has connotations in today's social and political culture. It is a folkloric myth created through the women warriors of Anatolia. In that sense Black Fatma(s) constitute a very rich field not just for understanding the historical development of gender system in the Ottoman period and Turkey, but also for understanding the current policies of different political positions on gender issues.

In the first chapter, titled "Theoretical Debates on Gender and War", I try to draw the theoretical framework for analyzing Black Fatma(s). What is gender and why do we need gender as a historical analytical tool? What is the relation between gender and militarism? How is motherhood militarized? What is the connection between becoming a soldier and becoming a citizen? What is the role of the process of war for women to become citizens? By giving brief answers to these questions through the feminist literature on gender and militarism, I will try to ask similar questions for Black Fatma(s).

⁶ Yavuz Selim Karakışla. "Enver Paşa'nın Kıldurduđu Kadın Birinci İşçi Taburu Osmanlı Ordusunda Kadın Askerler." *Toplumsal Tarih* (66) 1999, pp. 15-24.

⁷ Like the works of Hülya Adak and Ayşe Durakbaşı on Halide Edip, Ayşe Gül Altınay on women and war pre-during-post War of Independence and Yaprak Zihnioğlu on Nezihe Muhittin.

⁸ Cengiz Eroğlu and Hülya Yazar (eds.), *Milli Mücadele'de ve Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Kadınlarımız*. Ankara: Milli Savunma Bakanlığı, 1998.

In the second chapter, titled “Black Fatma(s) during the Ottoman Period”, I focus on three Black Fatma(s) of 1806, 1854 Crimean War and 1877-78 Ottoman Russian War. I try to analyze the Ottoman resources on the Black Fatma(s). Besides giving biographical knowledge about these women, I also try to understand the social position of these women and the kind of discourse that was established to introduce them.

In the third chapter, titled “Black Fatma of the Crimean War: Western Gaze”, by focusing on the Western sources written during the Crimean War or on Crimean War, I try to understand how they represent *Black Fatma* and what kind of message this representation convey to the Western audience.

And in the forth chapter, titled “Black Fatma of the War of Independence”, I try to analyze how nationalist and militarist policies were gendered, and how women were militarized during the War of Independence and during the Early Republican Era. By looking at the case of Fatma Seher, the Black Fatma of the War of Independence I try to understand how women’s identities are influenced while they are becoming soldiers.

Looking at the data about the genre of *Black Fatma(s)*, it can be argued that, we are talking about a folkloric myth, a heroine in the land of Anatolia. Legends of women warriors exist almost in all cultures. The relation between legend and reality is a topic of a discussion beyond the scope of this work. However, it is known that, legends, in a way represent the exceptions of the “real” life. Woman as a warrior is an exception in most societies both in the past and in the present, as far as we know. In this thesis, with reference to the theoretical framework that is drawn, the meaning and the content of that exception will be focused on. How is this exception represented? Why is there a need of such a legend? When does that need occur? To whom does that serve? Does this representation challenge the conventional patriarchal gender roles in wars? Or does that reproduce them?

2.CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL DEBATES ON GENDER AND WAR

2.1. Gender as an Analytical Tool

Feminist criticism of the historical writing has shaped basically around two lines. One is the effort of writing ‘her-story’, which aims at making women seen in the pages of history. The criticism that is made to ‘his-story’ is that men write the history of men, women are unseen in the history writing. So, highlighting women characters in the history and making the women, subjects of history gains importance. The other one is, through the criticism of conventional historiography, constructing a new narrative, different periodization and different causes. And “gender” becomes the analytical tool of the feminist historiography. “If the group or category of “women” is to be investigated, then gender –the multiple and contradictory meanings attributed to sexual difference- is an important analytical tool. The term “gender” suggests that relations between the sexes are a primary aspect of social organization; that the terms of male and female identities are at large, culturally determined (not produced by individuals or collectivities entirely on their own); and that differences between the sexes constitute and are constituted by hierarchical social structures.”⁹

The English language distinction between the words ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ was first developed by medical scientists working on intersexed and transsexual patients in 1950s and 1960s.¹⁰ These “patients” were facing the dilemma of self being trapped into a wrong body. In 1963, Stoller, a psychologist, made his definition of gender as: “The identity of gender is the knowledge that a person has about which identity he or she belongs to: I am a male or I am a female.” So, in the field of medicine, division between sex and gender occurred due to the concern about personal identity, and accordingly, “sex” was medicalized, while gender was demoted to the field of psychology.

The need for the sex and gender distinction is born to encounter with the pervasive picture of sex. The pervasive picture of sex gives rise to essentialism, biologism. It

⁹ Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, Colombia University Press, New York, p.25.

¹⁰ Toril Moi, *What is a woman?: And Other Essays*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

sexualizes not only the whole person, but the whole world of human activities. Gender is ideological in the sense that it tries to pass social arrangements off as natural. The phrases “One is not born, but rather becomes a woman” which became popular with Simone de Beauvoir can be considered as representing the whole discussion about what gender as a term serves. Talking from existentialist view, in Simone de Beauvoir’s theoretical perspective, body is a tool that connects us to the world; it is a limiting element for our projects. So, our anatomical structure is not a destiny for us, but it has a critical role in shaping our relation with the world: “By refusing to reduce the woman (femme) to the she animal (femelle), she takes a sharing stance against the misogynist ideology which can only picture woman as a monstrous ovum.”¹¹

2.2. Gendering War

It is critical to understand the need for gender as an analytical tool, to analyze the gendered process of war and militarism. War times witness apparent and almost unchallengeable power of military and militaristic values. However, in the absence of war conditions, power of military and militaristic values do not disappear, rather takes different forms. Institutional power of military and discursive power of militaristic values keeps their power during “peace” times and keeping this power necessitates a social process. In that sense, as Cynthia Enloe defines it, “militarization is the step by step process by which something becomes *controlled by, dependent on or derives its value from* the military as an institution or militaristic criteria.”¹²

War, both as a social process and as a subject of historical analysis, is a field where the most conventional understandings about sexual identity stereotypes develop. Men, as the representatives of their nations or social groups, involve in combating, while women stay in their domains protected by men. However women have also involved in the processes of war in history. And their participation in armies has been a gendered process. In order to understand the gendering process of war the question to be asked is, as Cynthia Enloe asks, “Where are women” when nations or social groups decide on and make war? It is important to look at the effects of war on women, but it is

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2000, p. 291.

much more critical for a historical research to focus on the gendered processes during a war, that is how war itself is structured by gender system.

One of the basic debates about war and women is shaped around the sexual stereotypes on manhood and womanhood: Are women and men fundamentally different from each other? While conservatives answer “yes”, their answer leads to the policy conclusion that men should fight wars and women should support them in distinctly feminine, maternal ways. Ironically, some feminists have also answered “yes” but conclude that women as natural peacemakers should resist wars, and that women should be given more power over world affairs so as to make the world less violent. However women’s relation to war in history has shown that gender is a fluid social category that people express differently in varied cultural and historical contexts. Neither men nor women have proven to be inherently violent or peaceful; instead, humans have the capacity to be both.¹³

States follow certain paths, imply certain policies in their attempt to fill its military’s ranks. “First, states have to think more consciously about masculinities and femininities. Second, states have to expend more energy and resources in trying to shape their citizens’ ideas about what constitutes an acceptable form of masculinity and an acceptable form of femininity.”¹⁴

Acknowledging the social construction process of sexual identities, the coming task is to understand the working of gender structure during wars and in the militaries: “Is women’s relationship to war really more complex than that of men? The answer is yes, if only because society, with its traditional gender divisions of labor, has assigned the official task of fighting to men. What happens to our standard ideals of “feminine”,

¹³ Jennifer Turpin, “Many Faces: Women Confronting War” in *The Women and War Reader*. Edited by Lois Ann Lorentzen and Jennifer Turpin. New York: New York University Press, 1998, pp.3-19.

¹⁴ Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000, p.236.

“masculine”, “family” and country when women fight? How is the category of woman, itself a social construction, further modified when women become warriors?”¹⁵

2.3. Motherhood and Militarism

“For the military to obtain and keep the number and kind of men in the ranks that officials think they need, military policy makers have to control not only men but women.”¹⁶ The militarization of mothers has been crucial for any successful male dominated militarist policy. Those policy makers have to have the passive (or active- depending on the situation) cooperation of women who are the mothers of these soldiers.

“Militarizing motherhood often starts with conceptualizing the womb as a recruiting station.”¹⁷ A woman who has sons is a woman who is contributing to “national security” of the state. Giving birth to sons is giving birth to the army, which also meant militarizing women’s fertility.

According to Cynthia Enloe the profile of the fully militarized mother is as such: “She is a woman who will find it reasonable that a government would urge its female citizens, especially those from the politically dominant racial and ethnic group, to have more children for the sake of ensuring the nation’s future security. She is a woman who sees the mothering of their sons as different from the mothering of their daughters. She is a woman who imagines that, by being a good mother in the eyes of the state, she is helping to confirm her own status as a citizen of the nation. She is a mother who accepts unquestioningly the phrase “patriotic mother”.¹⁸

¹⁵ Nicole Ann Dombrowski (ed.), *Women and War in the Twentieth Century: Enlisted with or without Consent*. New York: Garland, 1999. p.3.

¹⁶ Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of...*, p.235.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.246.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

2.4. Women as Soldiers

Despite the conventional idea that women do not fight, historical researches have shown that women have joined wars also as warriors. However, although women have fought in wars for centuries, they have been relegated to second-class status in the military. Public resistance to women as warriors is rooted in traditional ideas about femininity and masculinity. These ideas become more flexible in certain political contexts. But once the context changes and the war ends, women return to their traditional roles. In recent decades however, we witnessed a shift toward increasing, although not equal, numbers of women in the military along with expanded roles for them. While a small percentage of women hold high ranking positions, most women are relegated to traditionally feminine roles within the army.”¹⁹

2.5. Militarized Citizenship

Close connection between the idea of citizenship and the act of fighting for the nation led to a structure: ‘military nation’. Through this combination, “military service provides one of the most important sites where the nation-idea is married to the state idea, naturalizing the connection between the two. Discourses on masculinity have contributed greatly to the marriage of these two ideas by naturalizing male participation in the military as ‘protectors’ of their families and of the nation. By defining national pride through masculine pride in the practice of military service, nation state builders have simultaneously culturalized, masculinized and militarized an emerging political process.”²⁰

When policy makers committed to patriarchal and militarist values, decide enlisting women into the ranks, they usually proceed as if they were performing a politically high and exceptional act. Because, this is one of the ways to recruit and deploy women into the army, which would not subvert the fundamentally masculinized culture of the military. In fact they are making politically a high act, in the sense that getting into the army also means to move upwards in the hierarchical divisions of citizenship.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.10.

²⁰ Ayşe Gül Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey*. New York; Houndmills, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p.6.

It has been the very success of this connection of citizenship to military service that has prompted so many twentieth century women's advocates to press for women's "right" to serve in the state's military; military service was recognized as the path to full citizenship status.

Since the eighteenth century, constitutional states have made the bearing of arms to protect the state as an integral part of a citizen's duties. While women were excluded from joining military forces in Euro-American states before the twentieth century, the subsequent mechanization of "total" wars demanded more extensive popular involvement. During the same time period during which women have first drawn into making munitions, then into paramilitary organizations, and eventually into regular military forces, they have also been gradually (even if not yet equally) incorporated into legal, electoral, and economic citizenship.²¹

And in the munitions factories, in the handling of heavy and often difficult machinery, and in adaptability and inventiveness and enthusiasm and steadfastness, their achievement has been astonishing... They have revolutionized the estimate of their economic importance, and it is scarcely too much to say that when in the long run the military strength of the Allies bears down the strength of Germany it will be this superiority of our women... which has tipped the balance of this war. Those women have won the vote. Not the most frantic outbursts of militancy after this war can prevent their getting it. The girls who have faced death and wounds so gallantly in our cordite factories _there is not inconsiderable loss of dead and wounded from these places_ have killed forever the poor argument that women should not vote because they had no military value. Indeed they have killed every argument against their subjection.²²

As democratic states have linked citizenship to war participation, women have demanded for participation to the army and thus show their patriotism and their right for full citizenship. "The massive recruitment of civilians for the total effort of World War I

²¹ Francine D'Amico, "Feminist Perspectives on Women Warriors" in *The Women and War Reader*. Lois Ann Lorentzen and Jennifer Turpin (eds.). New York: New York University Press, 1998, p.130.

²² H.G. Wells, *Ladies Home Journal*, June 1916 cited in Angela Woollacott, "Women Munitions Makers, War and Citizenship" in *The Women and War Reader*, p.128.

opened up direct war participation in Britain (and elsewhere) far beyond the bounds of the regular armed forces. In the process, the gendering of patriotic involvement became negotiable. While the primary, heroic, mythical figure of the soldier remained resolutely male, the introduction of women's paramilitary organizations (the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, the Women's Royal Naval Service, and Women's Royal Air Force) in the war's final years raised questions about the masculine domain of soldiering."²³

Rather than clinging to now discredited notions that women are somehow essentially pacifist, and worry therefore that women's inclusion in the armed forces will undermine pacifist hopes, we should instead consider the equation between citizenship and war service. It should hardly surprise us that women have followed the same roads and embraced the same symbols in pursuing citizenship that men have.²⁴

2.6. Debates Among Feminists: Should Women Join the Army?

While some argue that women should be free to join whatever organization they choose, others protest that the military is a fundamentally sexist organization, and women should not participate in it. Some argue that women in greater numbers will change for the better, while others claim that it is more likely that military will change women. Should women serve in combat roles? Equal-rights/liberal feminists argue for women's access to the same military jobs and careers as men, claiming that women will also gain greater political power as a consequence. Conservatives and cultural feminists reject the notion of combat.

Another group of feminists points to the dangers of woman warrior image. They argue that woman warrior image draws from a "warrior mystique," promoting martial and masculine values rather than redefining gender based social values and hierarchical power structures. These critical feminists argue that woman warrior image subjects women to greater manipulation by those controlling military institutions, thus allowing women be militarized but not empowered. Thus, women's militarization provides no

²³ Angela Woollacott, "Women Munitions Makers, War and Citizenship" in *The Women and War Reader*, p.128.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.131.

substantive “feminization” of the military as a social institution. Military institutions and their needs (not women’s needs) determine women’s role in the armed forces. Women’s military participation reinforces rather than undermines the gendered structure of the military and the broader society.²⁵

Critical feminists argue that the liberal feminist fascination with the warrior image is dangerous, since the military reflects the racism, sexism, and heterosexism of the larger society. Further, the military insulates these practices behind the wall of “national security,” constraining incursions by civil rights activists. The military as an institution successfully resists changes in personnel practices that privilege the dominant racial-ethnic gender group unless military planners recognize that such changes benefit the military mission itself. Then they use the language of “women’s liberation” to meet the institution’s needs and employ gender categories to control women’s participation.²⁶

The relation between gender and war, the policy of enlisting women, militarization of motherhood and the idea of “citizen-soldier” will be discussed in the next chapters through the case of Black Fatma. Black Fatma(s) of 1806, of the Crimean War, of the Russian-Ottoman War of 1877-1878 and of the War of Independence, as women warriors of their periods, were exposed to the patriarchal and militarist policies of the period. Contextual relation between patriarchy and militarism in certain historical periods in case of Black Fatma(s) will be analyzed through the literary review discussed above.

²⁵ Francine D’Amico “Feminist Perspectives on Women Warriors” in *The Women and War Reader*, p.120.

²⁶ Ibid., p.122.

3. CHAPTER 2: BLACK FATMA(S) DURING THE OTTOMAN PERIOD

Black Fatma in the Ottoman Sources: From a Leader of a Thief Gang to a Heroine

3.1. Black Fatma in 1806

During my research in the Prime Ministry's Archives, I could locate four documents relating to Black Fatma. The earliest one belongs to 1806, in which Black Fatma is depicted as the leader of a Kurdish thief gang.²⁷ This is a document written by

²⁷ BOA. HAT 102/4044-C 29.7.1220:

Tayyar Paşa bendelerinin kullarına olan şukkasıdır ki bu hususu Çapanzade tarafından tahrir olunmuş ise hakikati bu vechiledir.

Saadetkârım

(1)Geçen seneden beri Amasya sancağı hududlarında ve dahilinde hırsızlık (....) aralık aralık tasallut suretleri peyda olup taharri ve tedkik olunarak Ekrad (2) taifesinden bir aşiret beyi avratı Kara Fatma nam bir melune yetmiş seksen kadar hayme Ekrad ile geşt ü güzar edüb bu vechile yanında olan Kürdlere hırsızlık (3) ettirüp gasp eyledikleri emvali avrat-i merkume Çorum ve Osmancık ve sair mahallerde fûruht eyleyub avret olmak takribi kimesnenin zann ve gümani (4) olmadığından günbegün bu fiil-i nahemvare ictisare ısrar üzere olduğu ve çend mah mukaddem Bozok sancağı mutasarrıfı saadetlü Süleyman Bey melune-yi (5) mezkureyi der-zincir eyleyub altı bin guruh ceremesini aldığı tahkik olunmuştu. Bu sene-i mübarekede hatta tütüncünüz Arif bu tarafta iken Amasya sancağı (6) dahilinde karib civarımızda Çeltik Köprüsü nam mahalde bir müslümanı katl ve bin guruhstan ziyadece malını ahz ve gasp etmişler idi. Bu dahi melune-yi (7) merkumenin olduğu tasrih olunmuş iken çend rüz akdem Der Aliye'den virud eden Tatarımız Hacı Mahmud bendelerine gümüş madeni dahilinde Çorum'a karib (8) Direkli derbend nam mahalde kurşun attıklarından beher hal terkim ve taharrisi vacibe-i zimmet olub Gümüş emini Ahmed Ağa'ya hitaben buyrulduumuz ile mübaşir tayin (9) olunub emin-i mumaileyh dahi taharri eylediğinde yine merkume-i melune tarafından olduğunu led-el-tahkik tarafımıza tahrir eylemekten naşi bu misüllü bir kafirenin (10) bu kadar müslümana izrarı tecviz ve tahammül olunur makuleden olmadığından merkume-i melune Osmancık taraflarında haber alınıp bir mikdar süvari tayin (11) olunmuş idi. Süvarilerimiz varıncaya kadar İskilib tarafına iskan etmiş, onlar dahi varasınca gidüb İskilib hududu dahilinde basub melune-yi (12) merkumeye ahz-u girif ve yanında olan melunlar firar ve perişan olmuşlar el-yevm melune-yi merkume tarafımızda haps olunup üç beş güne kadar (13) Çeltik köprüsünde katl eyledikleri müslüman malını eytamlarına vermek için getirecekler olmağın (....) bu eytamların hakkı tahsil olundukta (14) melune-yi merkume ibreten (....) nehre ilka olunacak olmağın mir-i mumaileyh mukteza-yı müşeddidleri elbette bu maddeyi kıl u kall'e getirip hükümeti (15) dahilinde Kürdleri basdılar yağma ve hasaret ettiler diye biraz makale edecektir. İbtida ibadullahın temin ve istirahatı cümlelerimize farıza-i (16)

Tayyar Mahmud Paşa²⁸ to the state to inform his actions against the gang of Black Fatma. In this document Black Fatma was a case through which we can follow the rivalries between local powers. Tayyar Mahmud Paşa, as the local governor of Trabzon, had some power conflicts with Çapanzade. Mahmud Paşa writes to the state about the case of Black Fatma to avoid any misinformation about the case that could be provided by Çapanzade to discredit Mahmut Paşa in the eyes of the Sultanate.

As can be followed from the document, the woman “known as” Black Fatma was a member of the Kurdish community and she was the wife of a tribal chief. Commanding a group of seventy-eighty Kurdish men, she committed burglary both around the border of Amasya Sancağı and also in the region. She sold the goods that her gang had stolen in and around Çorum and Osmancık, specifically by using the advantage of being a woman, since people do not get suspicious of her. However, due to her crimes, she was caught by Süleyman Bey, Bozok Sancağı Mutasarrıfı and six thousand *kuruş* was taken from her as a compensation for what she has stolen. Another crime that was committed by the gang of Black Fatma was to kill a Muslim and taking more than one thousand *kuruş* of his wealth. They created uneasiness in Divrikli and the situation was also known by the state. In reaction to these events, Tayyar Paşa had sent his cavalrymen to capture Black Fatma together with her gang and succeeded to catch

zimmettir. Mündekamız için etmedik mücerred memalik-i İslamiyetin (sic. İslamiyenin) istirahatı için ve şer-i şerifin icrası için ettik geçen sene mir-i mumaileyh (17) dahi Akbiyık namıyla bir sergerdesini beş yüz kadar süvari ile Amasya'ya tayin edüb birkaç adamlar tutturub bir kariyenin dahi mecmu-i hasadını telef (18) ettirmişti. Bu sene-yi mübarekede hasbel maslahat otuz süvarimiz ziri hükümetinde üç yüz kadar Ekrad taifesini basub melune-yi merkumeyi ahz (19) ve girift eylediler. Suret-i hal malumu şerifleri buyurulduklarında mir-i mumaileyh bu maddeyi kıl u kall'e getirir. Bu vech ile nezdi-i ulyayı umur-ı hazretinde ifası (20) ve ne vechile cevap buyurulur ise tarafımıza tahrire himmetleri mercudur.

²⁸ Tayyar Mahmud Paşa is the son of Canikli Ali Paşazade Battal Hüseyin Paşa. In 1215 (1800/01) he becomes the governor of Trabzon with the vizierate and the governor of Diyarbakır in 1216 (1801/02) and removed from the office in 1217 (1802/03). In *Cemaziyelevvel* 1218 (August-September 1803) he became the the goverenor of Erzurum and in 1219 (1804/05) he become the governor of Trabzon for the second time and removed form the office in (1805/06). In Şa'ban 1222 (October 1807) he became the governor of Trabzon for the first time and became *sadaret kaynakamı* (official representing the Grand Vizier in İstanbul while he is on campaign) by the end of the month. In *Muharrem* 1223 (March 1808) he was removed from the office and sent to Dimetoka and then transferred to Hacıoğlupazarı. He died in 2 *Recep* 1223 (August 24, 1808). (III. 258/59). *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. V, p. 1626.

her and her men. He had kept her arrested for three to five days and compensated the wealth that she had taken from the people in the bridge of Çeltik to be given to the orphans of those people who were killed. Moreover, Tayyar Paşa in the letter declares the decision that he took of drowning Black Fatma in the river to constitute an example to deter others.

Mahmud Paşa stresses that there might be complaints that would be made to the state saying that he attacked Kurdish communities and pillaged their wealth. However, he continues, he attacked the gang of Black Fatma to save the life and wealth of Muslims. And, he also mentions that, Çapanzade himself, last year (in 1805) sent his cavalymen of five hundred men under the control of Ak Bıyık to Amasya *Sancağı*, to attack a village and destroy their harvest for a similar reason.

In this letter to the state, we see her in the middle of a local rivalry. As can be followed from above mentioned document, Black Fatma as an epithet, at the beginning of the 19th century had pejorative connotations. She is a Kurd; she is the wife a tribe chief and she the leader of a group of “brigands”. She was called “*kâfir*” and “*melûne*” as opposed to the Muslims. She is, as a “*kâfir*” is accused of killing and stealing the wealth of the Muslim people. The usage of the word “*kâfir*”, though does not tell much in itself, may lead to a question like: who were *kâfirs* in the Ottoman context of 19th century - as opposed to the Muslims? And the answer might lead to *Yezidis*, who were not considered as a member of the Muslim community.

Though we have very limited information in this document, there are two important points to be mentioned about the social position of Black Fatma. First one is that, in the document Mahmud Paşa gives no sign of surprise about a woman commanding a band. He mentions Black Fatma’s being a woman when he tries to explain how she and her men succeed to hide themselves from the public. People are not expecting a woman to be a thief, so the band could be around, easily avoiding the danger of being arrested. Another question to be raised is about being a wife of a tribal chief and she is leading bandits at the same time. As we can follow from the document, Black Fatma, besides being the leader of bandits, is also married to a tribal chief and the situation is constitutes a contradiction with the conventional sexual division of labor of the period. So, this point leads to a bigger question about the social organization of the

tribe that she is a member of and also about the Ottoman perspective on the representation of the sexual roles in these tribes.

3.2. Black Fatma of the Crimean War

We can follow the traces of Black Fatma of the Crimean War from the Ottoman State archives, from the Ottoman literature of the period and from the Western press.

The first document that can be located in the Ottoman state archives about the Black Fatma of the Crimean War, is the one about the medallion that was given to Black Fatma due to her efforts during the Crimean War.²⁹ According to the document, a woman known as Black Fatma from the Cerid Tribe, from Adana was granted with a golden medallion by the Sultanate. The medallion was made in October, 4th of 1854 either just for Black Fatma or for all the heroes and heroines of the Crimean War. We cannot know through the document which one was the case. However, we can say that it was a new medallion and the Sultan wanted to see it before it was given to Black Fatma. Thus, Black Fatma, as a woman, took medallion long before the women who took *Şefkat Nişanı* (Compassionate Medallion) that was made during the Hamidian period to be granted to all women who supported to the interest of humanity, of the state, of the country and of the nation and who helped the victims of a war or of a disaster.³⁰ Additionally, there was a very critical difference between these two medallions. Black Fatma had the medallion not for “helping” or “supporting” “the men” who were the actors of war process, but rather for joining the war, for fighting for the Sultanate.

²⁹ BOA. İ.DH.308/19650

Atufetli efendim hazretleri

Adana’da Cerid Aşireti’nden (...) nam Kara Fatma’ya ordu-yu humayunda vaki olan hüsn-ü hidmetine mükafeten itası emr-ü ferman-ı humayun-u hazreti şehin şahi muktezayı münifinden olan altun madalya bugün saat onbir buçukta Darphane-i Amire’den gelmiş olmağla leffen arz ve takdim kılındığı beyanıyla tezkire-i senaveri terkim kılınmış olmağla. (10 Muharrem 1271 / 4 Ekim 1854)

Maruz-ı çaker-i kemineleridir ki

Reside-i dest-i tazim olan işbu tezkire-i samiye-i asafileryle zikr olunan nişan manzur-u (...) hazret-i şahane buyrulmuş ve mezkur nişanın mumailayhaya itası mütealîk ve şerefsudur buyrulan emr ve irade-i seniye-i cenabı padişahi muktezayı münifinden olarak yine savb-ı sami-i asafilery ve iade kılınmış olduğu muhatalamı ali-i vekalet penahileri buyuruldukda olbabda emr-ü ferman hazret-i veliyülemrindir. (11 Muharrem 1271 / 5 Ekim 1854)

³⁰ Edhem Eldem, *İftihar ve İmtiyaz: Osmanlı Nişan ve Madalyaları Tarihi*, Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, İstanbul, 2004, p.261.

Granting a medallion to Black Fatma meant that her success was recognized by the state. However, this recognition might be read in two ways. Firstly, Black Fatma, as a woman joined the War and her success and courage might have considered as extraordinary for a woman. She was a unique figure and the Sultanate might have awarded the uniqueness of a woman warrior. And, though it is difficult to make the argument through just one document, giving a medallion could be read as a promotion for women's getting into the army. Secondly, Black Fatma, besides being a warrior, she was also a leader of a tribe. Therefore, the medallion might also serve to promote the collaboration between tribes and the Sultanate in parallel with the centralization policies of the period. A third point that can be taken into consideration is the Western interest on Black Fatma. As will be discussed in the following chapter, Western press showed an increased interest on Black Fatma as an unveiled warrior Muslim woman. There were three articles published in the *Illustrated London News* on April 23, 1854, on June 22, 1854 and also on July 1, 1854, respectively about Black Fatma. These articles demonstrated how the Western media was impressed by Black Fatma and her tribe. The image of a warrior woman, as will be discussed in more detail in the third chapter, was an extraordinary for 19th century European context. So, the attention that was drawn by the West might also be affective for the Sultanate to reward Black Fatma.

Another document is about the salary that was granted to Black Fatma.³¹ As can be followed from these documents, Black Fatma was an officially recognized figure of the Crimean War. She was from Adana, from the Cerid tribe. She took part in the war together with her cavalry men. Her two brothers were also among the cavalry. One of

³¹ BOA (İ. MVL. 22276 lef 2) 8 Rebiülevvel 1280 / 23 Ağustos 1863

Maruz-ı çaker-i kemineleridir ki

Bu cariyeniz fil-asl Adana tarafından Kara Fatma tabir olunan cariyeniz bulunduğum rehin-i ilm-i daverileri buyurulduğu üzere bu cariyeniz mesele-i zailede maiyet-i abidanemde birkaç yüz süvari askeriyle vilayetim olan Adana'dan gelerek gunagun gayret ve bezl ederek mahall-i muharebede karındaşım kullarınızdan birisi şehid ve diğeri mecruh olduğu halde vilayet tarafında perişan ve ahval-i zarurette kalmış cariyenizin emekdar-ı kadim olduğuna ve alel husus muharebede gunagun bezl-i vücud-ı gayret-i na-madud eylediğine lutf ve kerem olunarak cariyenize tahsis olunan yüz kuruş maaşım idare etmediğinden meram-ı aliyelerinden mercudur ki maaşım olan yüz kuruşun üzerine bir miktar dahi zam olunduktan maada virgü namiyle bu cariyenizden birşey matlub olunmıyarak salif ül beyan maaşım üzerinden bir miktar daha maaş zam olunarak virgüden dahi muaf buyurulmak babında ve hususunda irade efendimindir.

them died and the other one was injured during the war. Due to her efforts in the war, Ottoman state decided to put Black Fatma on salary. In the letter that Black Fatma wrote to the state, she asked for an increase in her wage and in addition to that, she asked for exemption from the tax that she had been paying to the state. Thus, she had a legal position within the military structure of the Ottoman State. With the enactment of the Sultanate in September 18th, 1863 (4 *Rebiülahir* 1280) Black Fatma's wage was increased by a hundred *kuruş* and was given the travel allowance, however her demand of exemption from the tax was rejected.

Ahmed Cevdet, in *Ma'rûzât*³² also refers to Black Fatma while he is writing about the activities of the *Fırka-i Islahiye* among the *Başıbozüks*. Ottoman state in 1865 sent an army called Forces of Reform to the region around Adana to settle the conflicts among the tribes and to strengthen their connections to the state. This attempt was a part of the centralization process of the Ottoman State. Cerid tribe, in *Ma'ruzat*, is represented as a "harmless" tribe, compared to other tribes, like Tecirli tribe. Black Fatma is the *kethüda*, the warden of one of the *oymaks* of the the Cerid Tribe. Black Fatma, as a *kethüda*, was again in a position that was officially recognized by the state. Ahmet Cevdet also repeats that Black Fatma had come to Istanbul and joined the army of the Ottoman State during the Crimean War.

Namık Kemal³³ in his letters to Abdülhak Hamit, mentions about Black Fatma of the Crimean War, while he is writing about the women joining the war. Besides Black

³² "Cerid aşireti Tecirli'ye nisbetle zararsız bir halk olup Kırım muharebesinde Dersaadet'e gelüp orduya gitmiş olan Kara Fatma dahi, bu aşiretin bir oymağının kethüdası idi. Fırka-i Islahiye'ye geldi, kendisine ikram edildi ve iskan için yer gösterildi." Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Ma'rûzât*, edited by Yusuf Halaçoğlu, İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1980, p.147.

³³ "Nedime-i vicdan'adım olursa, yerine başka bir nedime-i vicdan ka'im olur ki, o da mader-i vatandır. Meziyyetin bin kat tezayüt eder; zerre kadar noksan bulmaz ve gine, padişahın, şehzadeye tokat urmasına benzemez. Kırım muharebesinde, Kara Fatma'yı falanı bir tarafa bırakalım. Bir Kürt kızı, nişanlısının arkasına düşerek, gönüllü nefer yazılmış, Kars'a kadar gelmiş. Bir taburun tranpetçiliğinde bulunduğu halde şehit olmuştu. Cenazesini gözümle gördüm, çünkü o zaman Kars'ta idim... Tarık b. Ziyad ordusuyla karılar gönderdiği tarihe mugayir birşey değil. İslam ordularında, o zamanlar pek çok kadın bulunurdu. Hatta Yermük muharebesini kazanan esbabın biri:... 'Biz Tarık'ın kızlarıyız. Kıymetli halı ve minderler üzerinde yürürüz. İsterseniz dostluk eder kucaklarız; yok kaçarsanız, biz de birbirini sevmeyenlerin ayrılığıyla

Fatma, Namık Kemal tells the story of a Kurdish woman, who had voluntarily joined the war after her fiancé, who became a side drummer in the army, and died during the war. It is highly probable that Namık Kemal, in his play *Vatan yahut Silistre* while writing the story of a woman who joins the army in male costumes, had been influenced by this story of Kurdish woman. Namık Kemal also argues that the participation of women to the army in the Muslim world is a historical reality. As can be followed from the quotation, Black Fatma was almost a widely known heroine. However, Namık Kemal stresses a Kurdish girl, rather than Black Fatma, as a woman heroine. And this Kurdish girl becomes the heroine of *Vatan yahut Silistre*, which is one of the foundational texts of Turkish nationalism.

Another document that mentions Black Fatma is Ahmed Rıza Trabzonî's *Manzûmeî Sivastopol*³⁴ that was written in 1869. *Manzûmeî Sivastopol*, is divided into

çekilir gideriz.' yolunda recez-han olan teşvikat-ı merdane ve hamelat-ı şiraneleri idi.” p.423. *Namık Kemal'in Mektupları Cilt 2*, edited by Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1969. *Abdülhak Hamid'e 30 Mart 1879*.

34

Muharebe-i Kara Fatma

On iki bin kişiydi cümle varı / Bular eylerdi harbi rûz leyâli / Bulara olmadı imdâd-ı küllî / Nefir-i âmm geldi ba'z cüz'i cüz'i / Beş altı gün sonra geldi Fatma Gazi / Nisalar kahramanı, firâzı / Beş-altı yüz kişiyle geldi ol ân / Kamûsu hep süvâri-i nâm-dârân / Oların nâmı var Türkmen ilinde / Kılıç belinde kargı kollarında / Olar çok kırdı düşmen, döktü kanın / Şehit oldu karındaşı nisânın / O hatun kendi dahi yaralandı / Onuldu yarası hoş-vârelendi / Ömer Paşa olup Şumnu'da kaim / Olara gönderir cephe daim / Deliorman'a geldi durdu anda / Yakın yüzbin kişi var hem yanında / Beher gün gönderirse emr-i ferman / Olanlara tenbih eder bi-şumaran / (...) / Musa Paşa şehid çün oldu ol ân / Giritlize oldu baş kumandan / Aman evlatlarım der eylan ârı / Güzel gayret edip vermen hisârı / Ki zirâ arzusudur padişâhın / Bakın namusunu âlem-panahın / Bulara verdi çok tenbih u gayret / Bulara verdi kuvvet istimalet / Musa Paşa şehid oldu ol an / Giritli-zâde oldu baş kumandan / Bu yola koydu cânın cümle varın / Cemi'-I malı mülkü, bi-şumarin / Edip gayret kemaliyle sadakat / Hamiyet dine takviyyet metânet / Dirâz etmeyelim rûz u leyâli / Edip kırk günden bu cidali / Gece gündüz demâdem harb olundu / Müdam berren ve bahren daarb olundu / Döğër her bir taraftan bî-şumarân / Yağar gülle, kopuzlar misl-i bârân / Şu miktar ol atar gündüzle gece / Sanırkim yandı kal'a uçtan uca / Eder kol kol asakirler yürtülür / O sahralar yüzün düşman bürütür / Gelir tabyalar eyler hücumu / Kırılır seyr ederler ol nücumu / Bu denli harb olundu kırk iki ün / Havadan yağdı ateşler dün ü gün / Dolup şehrin içi gülle kopuzdan / Yıkıldı binalar işbu yüzden / Mesacidler yıkıldı hem minaret / Zararlık oldu gayret bi-şumâre / geçip maldan kamusu kıldı gayret / Ahali leşkere çok kıldı nusret / Düşen gülleyi düşmenden alırlar / Çocuklar tabyaya varıp verirler / Kıyas et kim eder bunu küçüğü / Ne denli gayret ideser büyüğü / Kesildi düşmanın tab ü tüvanı / Kırıldı leşkери, çok zabitanı / Uruldu baş kumandârı devrildi / Kral dahi anı çok severdi / Yok imiş öyle ma'lumatlı zahir / Kumandâr hem usul-ı harbde mahir / Yakın yüz bin kadar

twenty two parts and sixteen of these parts is about the front battles in the Crimean War: *Muharebe-i Şevketil*, *Muharebe-i Arpaçay*, *Muharebe-i Kars*, *Muharebe-i Ardahan*, *Muharebe-i Sinop*, *Muharebe-i Çatana*, *Muharebe-i Kalafat*, *Muharebe-i Maçin*, *İsakça* and *Tulca*, *Muharebe-i Black Fatma*, *Muharebe-i Silistre* and *Yergök*, *Muharebe-i Gözleve*, *Muharebe-i Sivastopol*, *Muharebe-i Kerç*, *Muharebe-i Uzkeret*, and *Muharebe-i Kars*. All these battles are named with reference to the place that they are fought, except *Muharebe-i Black Fatma*, Kara Fatma's Battle. As can be followed from this part, the battle took place around *Deliorman*, in the north-east of today's Bulgaria. Black Fatma joined the army five/six days after the beginning of the combat. She came with around five to six hundred cavalymen. She not only leaded her cavalymen, but also herself took place in the combat carrying sword and javelin. She was injured and her brother died during the war.

askerle geldi / Kırıldıkça yerini doldururdu / Otuz kırk gün kadar şiddetli harbi / Edip her bir taraftan emr-i darbı / Bu kuvvetle edip bunca mudare / Kırıldı leşkeri bulmadı care / Kırıldı elli binden fazla zâhir / Ziyade belki sanmanız tevatür / Kırıldı zabitan, iş erleri hem / O Moskov askeri serverleri hem / Hesab etti erişmez ol bu kare / Geriye kaçmadan yok buna care / O gece attı hiç kesmedi narı / Beri yandan kaçıp kılar firarı / Sabaha dek tamam gitti cerisi / Tuna'dan karşı geçti her birisi / Seher vakti koşup toplarını ol / Ne var ise alıp kaçtı tutup yol / Sabah oldu, olup alem ruşenlik / Bakarlar kalmadı düşmende şenlik / Asakir hep seğırtirler giderler / Bozarlar tabyasın tahrib ederler / Ne kaldıysa kamu eşya davarın / Döşürüp ahz ederler cümle varın / Edip şenlik beşaretler ururlar / Meserret resm-i ayinin görürler / Yazarlar name-i tebşir ol dem / İstanbul'a Tatar gönderdiler hem / Bu işten şah-ı alem oldu hürrem / Olara bezl-i ihsan etti ol dem / Kamusuna verip rütbe, nişanı / Büyüttü anda olan zabitanı / Cerideler basıldı oldu i'lan / Ki kaçtı Moskov düşman ehl-i tuğyan / Ki zîra yüz bin asker bî-şumâr top / On iki bin kişiye oldu mağlub / Kmau etrafa i'lan etti Moskov / Frengistan'a rüsva oldu Moskov / Dediler kanda lafı, iddiası / Urus'un batıl imiş müddeası / Bu denli kuvvet ile kıldı gayret / Son encamı kaçıp kıldı rezalet / Yazık anın bu denli şöhretine / Yakışmaz imparatorluk adına / Olundu fevz-u nusret Barekallah / Hüda avn-ı Sübhanekallah / İşittim çün Rıza feth-i sürûru / Sürûrumdan dolandım feth-i sûzı / Derûnumda olan aşkın humârı / Akıttı dîdeden sankim pınârı / Sürûrumdan esirdim misli sekrân / Hemân rindâna-veş oldum gazel-hân / Dolansın sâgir-ı sah-pâreler peymâneler dönsün / Saladır ehl-i aşka sâki-i meyhaneler dönsün / Nevâ-yı nây-I mutribden neşât-I neş'e-i meyden / Sadâ-yı hây hûy-i na'râ-i mestânler dönsün / Bu işret-gehrede bezm-pûs-i la'l-i şitâb-I dilirden

Aceb mi raksa gelsin meşreb-i rindaneler dönsün / Şuâ'-i şem'i rûyunla şehâ kıl bezmimiz rûşen / Bu şem'e yanmaya perden geçen pervâneler dönsün / Rızâ verdim kazâi aşka râzı etmem / Beni aşüfteden koy dehrde efsâneler dönsün" Ahmed Rızâ Trabzonî, *Manzume-i Sivastopol*, edited by Veysel Usta, Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2000, pp. 134-141.

One critical question about Black Fatma of the Crimean War is about her ethnic identity. Rızai says that Black Fatma is coming from the Türkmen region of the Ottoman Empire. As we have seen above, while discussing the documents in the Ottoman State archives, Black Fatma was from the Cerid Tribe. Cerid Tribe, in the state archives appears as a Türkmen-Yörük tribe.³⁵ So, the information that Rızai gives about Black Fatma having fame in the Türkmen region is in parallel with the information that Cevdet Türkay gives with reference to the state archives. However, as will be discussed below through other documents, there is a high stress on the Kurdish identity of Black Fatma.

Rızaî calls Black Fatma as “*Fatma Gazi*”, “*Nisâlar kahramanı, ser-firâzı*”. *Gazi* is the one who fights on behalf of Islam and also is a title given to generals for outstanding exploits. *Gazi* is the highest title given to “male” members of the army. So it is critical to note how Rızaî uses a male title for Black Fatma and also how he acknowledges that Black Fatma is the heroine of women and she is the exalted one, who increases the status of women.

Salih Hayri’s “*Hayrabad*” *Kırım Zafernamesi*³⁶ is another *gazavatnâme* that is about the Crimean War. In *Hayrabad*, Salih Hayri refers to a woman named as Karakız

³⁵ Cevdet Türkay, *Başbakanlık Arşivi belgeleri'ne göre Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Oymak, Aşiret, ve Cemaâtlar*, İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2001.

³⁶ Kol kumandanı Tosun Paşa'ya
Bi'l-ihale gidip ol enhaya
Ba'zı mevki'lere tabye bünyad
İhtiyat üzre kılındı inşad
Bulgaristan'a çekildi kordon
Çünkü Rusiyyeye meyli maznun
Olup ordulara irsal asker
Gelip ez-cümle redifler yek-ser
Sınıf-ı sani mukaddem tahrir
Olarak cümlesi sevk-ı tesyir
Müteka'id olan ehl-i tımar
Celb olup eski sipahi ne ki var
Rumeli Anadolu'dan tertib
Başbozuklar olundu tesrib
Elli binden mütecaviz idiler
Gidip orduya nizamsız asker
Geldi bir zen Karakız namında
Gördü iş ma'reke hengamında

(Blackgirl) who had joined the war among *Başıbozüks* in irregular troops. In parallel with what Rızaî writes, Salih Hayri also states that *Karakız* had joined the war when Bulgaria was blockaded and she had taken her place in the battle field.

Through *Hayrabad*, we also learn that women contributed to Crimean War through financial help, such as selling their property and granting the money that they earned to the army.³⁷

3.3. Black Fatma of the Russian Ottoman War of 1877-1878:

The Journal of *Kadınlar Dünyası*

Feminism of the *Kadınlar Dünyası* can be considered within the feminist policy of what is called First Wave Feminism in Europe and US. First wave feminism was liberal and modernist in its demands for the women. The first wave of the feminist movement, in the West, was developed by the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century and was shaped around the political demands of the women to be

Olup alem sefere hahiş-ger
Geldiler kendiliğinden ekser

Salih Hayri and Necati Birinci eds., *Kırım Zafernamesi*, Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1988, p. 81.

³⁷ Filipe sakinesinden bir zen
Olan emlakini sattı toptan
Yani hem-name-i zatı Zehra
Malımı kıldı reh-i Hakk'a feda
Bi't-tedarik bedeninden asker
Elbise esliha at verdi birer
Altışar aylığı ber-vech-i peşin
Harcırahı dahi kıldı tazmin
Oğlunu semt-ı gazaya terğib
Orduya asker ile bi't-tesrib
Şu diyanette bulunmaz bir er
Gıpta etmiş ona erkekler
Doğrusu hizmeti dine evfak
Oldu her vechile tahsine ehak.

Ibid., pp. 81-82.

“citizens” *like* men. To be a citizen, in the age of Enlightenment, was a right given to rational *people*, to be a part of public life. Voting was main concern of the women, since it was the basic criterion of being a citizen. Besides voting, marriage, the rights of women defined by law in the marriage were also among the issues covered by the women of the time.³⁸ Their argument was that women were as rational as men. Accepting the duality of rationality versus emotionality, and also accepting the hierarchy in this duality, the women of the Enlightenment demanded the rights of rational human beings as rational beings. *Declaration of Seneca Falls, Declaration of Sentiments* in 1848 in the US was the declaration of women demanding equal rights with men. It was almost the same as the Declaration of Independence with a difference in the content of the definition of equality. Those women opposed equality only among men and demanded equality between men and women.³⁹

The history of women’s questioning their position in the world system goes back to the nineteenth century in this part of the world, as in Europe and in the United States. The end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries saw the rising demands of the Ottoman women and women of Turkey to be equal citizens of the newly establishing nation state. Adjustments in education as to include women, adjustments in the rules regulating marriage as to protect women as wives or the right to join the elections both as voters and candidates were the leading demands of the women of the period.⁴⁰

³⁸ Josephine Donovan, *Feminist Teori*. İstanbul: İletişim, 2001, pp.15-69.

³⁹The first wave of feminism was not monolithic in itself. The women’s movement of the time was also in contact with the anti-slave movements. There were activists among these women who pointed to the similarity between women and blacks in terms of social status. For example, Cady Stanton (1815-1902) noted that none of the black and women had their own names; they were called by the names of their husbands and rulers. Or, women like Maria Stewart, Zora Neale Hurston made efforts to provide a community for black women’s activism and self determination. Although their political concerns were not shaped around the sexual politics of the time, they were equipped enough to uncover how black women were sexually abused. The inclusion of black women into the black movement precedes their involvement in the women’s movement. However, black women’s issues were raised not in the male-run organization, but in the black women’s organization.

⁴⁰ Writings of Serpil Çakır on the women’s movement during the Ottoman period or the working of Ayşegül Baykan and Belma Ötüş on Nezihe Muhittin highlights the positioning of women during the late Ottoman and Early Republican Period, with respect to their demands to be citizens like men.

However, the women's movement of the Ottoman period was not monolithic in itself. Recent work on the activities of Armenian women during the Ottoman period⁴¹ highlights the multi-ethnic characteristic of the Ottoman women's movement. In most parts of the world, the women's movement of the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century was shaped around the issues of the right to have education, the right to be equal before the law, and most importantly the right to participate in elections. This period is called as the first wave feminist movement in the feminist theoretical and political literature. The first wave of the women's movement in Turkey came to an end after women gained the right to participate elections in 1934.⁴²

Kadınlar Dünyası as a part of the first wave women's movement in the Ottoman Empire shared parallel demands generally with the other contemporary women's movements in the world. *Kadınlar Dünyası* is a woman's journal published in between 1913-1921 in İstanbul. The journal propagandized feminist politics and followed a modernist line. In its long publishing period, there were changes in their stress on Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkish nationalism depending on the period and context that they were published, usually in parallel with the general political climate of the Ottoman intellectual elite. However, they had never lost the line of modernization. The "need" to introduce Black Fatma in their pages in 1913 should be considered within the political conjuncture of the time and within the modernist and feminist line of the journal.

⁴¹ Melissa Bilal, Lerna Ekmekçioğlu and Belinda Mumcu. "Hayganuş Mark'ın (1885-1996) Hayatı, Düşünceleri ve Etkinlikleri, Feminizm: Bir Adalet Feryadı", *Toplumsal Tarih*, no.87, (March 2001); Lerna Ekmekçioğlu, Melissa Bilal (eds.), *Bir Adalet Feryadı: Osmanlı'dan Türkiye'ye Beş Öncü Feminist Yazar*, İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2006.

⁴² The workings on women's activities during the Ottoman and Early Republican Era show that, women of the period established number of organizations. *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* was the last of *independent* woman organizations, which was established right after the closing of *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası* by the same women in order to continue their workings on a legal base. It was closed in 1935, after women's having right to join elections. Closing of the Union marks the end of the first wave women's movement in Turkey. For more information see the works of Ayşegül Baykan and Belma Ötüş Baskett, Zafer Toprak and Serpil Çakır.

The idea of the defense of the homeland and the nation, especially with the influence of the failures of the Balkan Wars, constituted one of the important issues of the journal.⁴³ Women, both as defenders and as the “mothers” of the defenders, should have been the indispensable part of the nation. The issue of motherhood was discussed together with the issue of family as the basic unit of the nation.⁴⁴ And the basic point that was stressed was the idea that freedom of women was necessary for the freedom of the nation.

Kadınlar Dünyası promoted women joining the army, through which they also promoted women becoming equal citizens.⁴⁵ During the World War I, they took the decision of closing the journal to join the army as volunteers and most of them took part in the war as nurses.

With such a publishing policy Black Fatma was introduced to the readers in *Kadınlar Dünyası*. Black Fatma represented the women who could take place in public life in equal positions to man and more than that could succeed to do the hardest work as good as men do. Army as an institution and defending the nation as a position were (and is) considered as the space of men and *Kadınlar Dünyası* had also targeted this space as to be penetrated by women. Development for women meant women getting into the parliament, into the courts, becoming governors and as “result” of all these they

⁴³ “Bizler evlatlarımıza ninni söylerken eskisi gibi ‘oğlum paşa olsun, bey olsun’ gibi sözler söylemeyelim. Yalnız evladlarımıza, senin vatanın Rumeli’dir... Asker ol bu yolda icab ederse vatanın için öl diye ninni söyleyelim. Vazifemizi bilelim evladımızı vatan muhabbetiyle terbiye edelim. Çünkü vatan aşkından, vatan muhabbetinden mahrum bir millet; ruhsuz bir cesede, tüfensiz bir askere benzer.” Bedia Kamuran, “Osmanlı Kadınlığının Ulvi Vazifeleri”, Şehzadebaşı, March 1, 1330 cited in Serpil Çakır, *Kadınlar Dünyası*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p.235.

⁴⁴ “...her saat adı bir metres gibi zevcin evinden koğulmaya maruz, her gün bin türlü zulm ve tahkire hedef olan bir validenin yetiştireceği erkek izzet-i nefis sahibi olamaz. Yine düşünmediler ki, ‘ne yapalım bir lokma ekmek verecek kimsem yok, Allahından bulsun, ölünceye kadar çekeceğim’ diyen evladlarının gözü önünde kocasının tekme ve tokatlarına boyun eğen, validesi böyle dayak yerken, babalarının b zulmüne ancak ağlamakla iktifa ederek yetişen bir evlad, vatani için eğer mütehassır olabilir ise ağlar ve felaketlerine ancak ağlayacak evlada malik bir vatan da böyle çiğnenir.” Mes’adet Bedirhan, Yakacık, “Evde ve Cemiyette Kadın” July 20, 1329, vol.101, p.8 cited in ibid., p. 212.

⁴⁵ “Kadınların harbde dahi erkekler gibi ifa-yı vazifeye hazır oldukları, emre amade oldukları...” *Kadınlar Dünyası* “Harb-i Umumi ve Kadınlar”, 17 Kanun-i Sani 1330, no.161, p.2 cited in ibid., p.80.

would get into armies like Jeanne D’Arc, like Black Fatmas as courageous commanders, as lawyers, as factory owners, and as workers in all occupations.⁴⁶

In July 20, 1329 (1913) *Kadınlar Dünyası* introduced Black Fatma to its readers with a gravure of hers in the front page and with a biographical article inside. Although the picture that they use is the one from the Crimean War and although there is no reference in the article in which war she was fighting, it is highly probable that they were referring to another Black Fatma of the Russian-Ottoman War of 1877-78. First, the Black Fatma that article introduces is from Aladağ, Malatya, while the Black Fatma of the Crimean War was from Maraş. Second, as will be mentioned below, the battlefield story of Black Fatma that is told in the article is taking place in the Aziziye bastion. However, Aziziye was not included in the war area of the Crimean war, while it was in the Russian-Ottoman War of 1877-78.

The title of the article is “*Osmanlı Kadınlığında Cevher-i Hamaset*” (The Essence of Heroism in the Ottoman Womanhood). As can be followed from the article, Black Fatma is a “noble” daughter of a Kurdish Bey from Aladağ. The article starts with a pun on Black Fatma's name saying that Black Fatma is not a "black" but a "shining" proof for their claim. As mentioned above, the gravure of Black Fatma that they put in the front page is the one that is used by the foreign press during the Crimean War to depict the Black Fatma of the Crimean War. Contrary to the representation of the foreign press of 1850s, which represents her as an ugly weird oriental woman, looking at the same picture of Black Fatma, *Kadınlar Dünyası* represents her as a “normal” woman who is thin, of middle height, a brunette with black eyes and eyebrows. While describing her outlook, the journal does not define her as a weird woman look like a man, rather as a courageous woman in male costumes and with a loud and harsh voice.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ “Bu suretle beşeriyet, azim bir nefes daha kazanacak, meclis-i mebusan kürsülerinde kadın sesleri işitilecek; mahkemelerde, belediyelerde kadınlar da bulunacak, onlardan da vali, mutassarrıf, kaymakam olacaktır. Bunun neticesi olarak herşey değişecek; ordularda Jeanne D’Arc gibi Kara Fatmalar gibi şeci’ kumadanlar, dava vekilleri, fabrikatörler, ameleler velhasıl her işte kadınlar da bulunacak!!!” S. Naciye, Sultan Ahmed, “Evrak-ı Varide: Erkekler Hakikaten Hürriyetperver midirler?, Ne İstiyorlar?”, April 10, 1329, no.7, p.3 cited in ibid., p.307.

⁴⁷ “Kara Fatma iddiamıza kara değil parlak, dırahşan bir delildir. Kara Fatma bir Kürddür. Malatya sancağı mülhakatından Aladağlı’dır ve Aladağ Kürd Beylerinden birinin asil, necip kızıdır. Resminden anlaşıldığı üzere zayıf, orta boylu olup rengi esmer ve gözleri ve kaşları siyahtır. Elbisesi erkek elbiselerinin aynıdır. Entari yerine

It is specifically stressed that Black Fatma does not cover her face, but only her hair till her shoulders.⁴⁸ In the pages of *Kadınlar Dünyası*, dressing of Ottoman women is one of the highly debated issues.⁴⁹ Nationalization of clothing was one of the demands and even establishment of an association which would work on this issue had come to the agenda. With the accomplishment of the policy of national clothing, regional differences in terms of clothing would be eliminated and the expenses that the change in the fashion might cause would disappear. One of the suggestions was the enactment of a rule that would organize the way of women's wearing, similar to the one that had been implemented in the US in that period.

Though they could not succeed in establishing the association working on the nationalization of dressing, they put the issue of dressing as the first item of the program of the *Osmanlı Müfaffaa-ı Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti*.⁵⁰ The ideal type of clothing would reflect the good taste of women and would be suitable for working and be in consistent with Islam. One aspect of change in dressing included the removing of the veil. This was considered as an important problem to be solved for the self identity of women.⁵¹ In the new life of women, in which they would be adopting to new roles in public life other than being mothers and wives in private life, there was no place for veil, it

geniş bir şalvar, ceket yerine ise "sarka" tabir olunan bir nevi cepken giyerdi. Sesi erkek sesi gibi gür ve sertti." *Kadınlar Dünyası*, 20 Temmuz 1329 vol. 100-1 p.10.

⁴⁸ Ibid. "Yüzünü asla setr etmez, ancak saçlarını boynunun velhasıl başının yüzünden maada bütün aksamını leçek tabir olunan bir bezle kat-kat sararak tesettür ederdi. Harbde ise resimde görüldüğü üzere örtünürdü." p.10.

⁴⁹ Serpil Çakır, *Kadınlar Dünyası*, pp.177-184.

⁵⁰ "Evvela: Ahkâm- celile-i şer' iyyemize muvafık, sâde, süsden âzâde iş görebilmeye salih kadınlarımıza mahsus birkaç nev'i kıyafet-i hariciye icad edüp numûneleri hükûmete bade-i-arz âzâsı üzerinde tatbikine başlamak suretiyle ta'amimini temin eyleyecektir." *Kadınlar Dünyası* "Kıyafetimizin Islahı" May 30, 1329, no.57, p.1 cited in ibid., p. 178.

⁵¹ "Şimdiki kıyafetimizde birşey var; o da dünya ile yüzümüzün arasındaki perde... Islah-ı tesettürde, bizi, gulyabaniye benzetmekten ve memlekette ahlaksızlığın şeraitine vasıta olmaktan başka bir faidesi olmayan bu peçenin nazar-ı itibara alınarak kaldırılacağını ümid ederim. Buna mecburuz." Mükerrrem Belkıs, Aksaray, "Kıyafet-i Hariciye-i Nisvan", June 12, 1329, no.70, s.12. cited in ibid., p. 179.

constituted an obstacle⁵². Not being covered (*tesettür*) but veiling (*peçe*) was the target of critiques⁵³.

Black Fatma is a very good personality having a balanced combination of heart and mind, meaning she was like a perfect “warrior” having both male and female characteristics of personality. She was harsh and powerful on the one hand and tender and caring on the other hand. But these characteristics were all in balance in the warrior character of Black Fatma.⁵⁴ As mentioned above, *Kadınlar Dünyası* defended the right of women entering the army. Presenting Black Fatma not just as an ideal woman warrior but also as an ideal unisex soldier served legitimating their demand of women’s right to fight. A female soul could constitute the essence of heroism (*yiğitlik cevheri*).

The biographical article about Black Fatma, ends with a legendary story which tells how Black Fatma contributed to the victory in the Aziziye bastion.⁵⁵ As was told in

⁵² “Çünkü biz de erkekler gibi muhit-i harici ile münasibdar olacağız. Mesela ev işlerinde, mağazalarda ve ileride dahil olacağımız mevkilerde peçe bize bir engel olacaktır.” cited in *ibid.*, p. 180.

⁵³ “Peçe bizi daha ziyade bozmadan biz onu bozalım. Yırtalım, çiğneyelim. İslam kadınlarına hitap ediyorum. Menfaatlerimizi kesr eden, hissiyatımızı ihlal eden, bizde masumiyet bırakmayan ve hiçbir faidesi olmayan, yanlış izdivaçlar yaptıran, o peçeyi, yüzümüze örttüğümüz siyah örtüyü kaldıralım, yırtalım. Artık bu hakikatı anlamak zamanımız gelmiştir. Cansız, kansız olmayalım.. Onu yırtacak kadar ellerimizde kuvvet yok mu? Yoksa, yazık!... Yazık!...” Mükerrrem Belkis “İzdivaç ve Usul-ı İzdivaç”, October 5, 1329, no.112, p.4-5, cited in *ibid.*, p. 181.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* “Tevabii üzerinde son derece nüfuza malik olup ‘İbo’ namındaki müşaviri bile Kara Fatma’nın hışm ve haşmetinden ihtiraz ederdi. Kara Fatma tab’an cengaver ve olduğu nisbette de hatırnüvaz, rahim ve şefikti. Ancak onda rahmet ve şefkat lüzumundan fazla değildi. Kara Fatma, şayan-ı merhamet olanlara rahim, zalim kavilerin zalim ve müthiş düşmanı idi.” p.10.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* “Tarihten mazbut en mühim en parlak vekayii Rusya muharebesi hengamında güzeran etmiştir. Rusya orduları Erzurum’u muhasara ettiği esnada Kara Fatma, Aziziye tabyasında malikiyetinde maiyetinde üç-dört bin Kürd cengaveriyle bera-yı muavenet ve müdafaa bulunuyordu. Bu büyük İslam validesi askerin içeceğini yiyeceğini ihzal, yaralıları tedavi eder, omuzuyla mechurin-i askeriye hastanelere kadar taşırdı. Düşman, Aziziye tabyasının her suretle müdafaasında ibraz eyleyen metanet ve şiddetin namağlub olduğunu anlayınca hileye müracaat ile gece yarısı askerimizin koğuşunun yakınına sokmuş olduğu bir nefere bir tüfenk atırıp koğuşun lambasını söndürmüş ve askerlerimiz düşman bastı zannıyla yekdiğerini sabaha kadar katl ettikten sonra düşman kemal-i istirahatle tabyayı zabtetmişti. Düşmanın bu şen’i hilesiyle

Kadınlar Dünyası, Black Fatma was already in the position of assistance and defence in Aziziye bastion with her Kurdish warriors when Russian army had attacked Erzurum. Calling her as the great “mother of Islam”, the journal stresses both her benevolence and her heroism, both of which could be attributed to a “warrior mother” or to a mother who turns out to be a heroine when her children are under threat. Black Fatma was preparing meal for the soldiers, curing their wounds and carrying wounded soldiers to the hospitals on her shoulders. According to the story, when the Russians recognized that the fortitude and the fighting in Aziziye are invincible, they developed a trick to capture the bastion. In the middle of a night, a Russian soldier, getting closer to the camp, shot the lamp of the place that the Ottoman soldiers were staying. Thinking that this was an attack of the enemy, soldiers killed each other till the morning, which lead the Russians easily capture the bastion. Black Fatma, facing the tragedy of the situation, goes to Erzurum, gather people from all ages together with their axes, choppers and swords in the absence of fire guns and attacks the Russians. Despite the intense firing of the Russian army, Black Fatma succeeds to capture Aziziye.

The story is familiar to the ones that will be “(re)constructed” during and after War of Independence, in terms of the ordering in the fiction and of the rate of exaggeration of the power of the heroines. It should also be kept in mind that, there is another heroine of the Russian-Ottoman war of 1877-78: Nene Hatun. However, as far as the sources that could be reached during this research concerned, she became popular not during the Ottoman period, rather during the Republican period.

As the story goes, Nene Hatun was born in 1857 and she was a young married woman living in Erzurum when the Russian-Ottoman War of 1877-78 had started. She was at home together with her husband and her baby when the Russians attacked Aziziye. Her husband immediately ran out of the house to join the defence and told to Nene that “they” would defend the city and if they would fail and the Russians got into the city, then she should kill both herself and the baby not be captured by the Russians.

mağlubiyetimizden son derece münfeil ve müteesir bulunan Kara Fatma hemen Erzurum içlerine gitmiş ve topladığı erkek, kadın, genç, ihtiyar birçok vatandaşı tüfenk bulamadığından evlerden buldurduğu balta, satır, kılınçla teslih edip Aziziye tabyasına hücum ve gülle kurşun yağmurları arasında asla yılmayıp binlerce kişisi şehid edildiği halde yüz çevirmemiş ve tabyanın hendeklerini düşmanın leşleriyle doldurarak, Aziziye tabyasını tekrar yed-i zabtına geçirmişti.” pp.9-10.

However Nene could not stay at home while “the enemy” were attacking her “homeland”. Thus she left the baby alone at home and joined the defence. She saw her brother wounded and dying in the battlefield. So, she as a “woman” contributed to the victory in Aziziye against the Russians by fighting in the battlefield. She herself died in 1955.

3.4. Conclusion

With reference to the documents above, we could talk of a genre of *Black Fatma(s)* in the Ottoman history. Although it is difficult to know whether Black Fatma is their real name or a title given to these women, there are “at least” three Black Fatma(s) in the Ottoman history as warrior Muslim women. However, as can be seen in the case of Nene Hatun, not all women participating in wars as fighters took the name of Black Fatma. And, as cited in the documents, Black Fatma of 1806, Black Fatma of the Crimean War and the Black Fatma of the Russian Ottoman war of 1877-1878 are referred as Kurdish women. However, in *Rızai* in *Muharebe-i Black Fatma* states that *Black Fatma* (of the Crimean War) was known in *Türkmen ili*. As will be focused on in the next chapter, all documents from Western press states that Black Fatma was a Kurdish woman. There is also no direct evidence about the religious sect of Black Fatma; we do not know whether she was an *Alevi* or *Yezidi*.

The case of Black Fatma of 1806 as a *melune* and *kafir*, differs from the other cases. She is not a heroine, on the contrary an evil character for the Ottoman State. However we do not know how she was perceived in her own community. Since she was the leader of a group making banditry and a wife of a tribal chief, it is highly probable that she was attributed the characteristics of heroine as the other Black Fatma(s) of 1854 and 1877. Though it is beyond the scope of this work, it would be interesting to know more about the cultural life of tribes of the Ottoman period, in which a woman could be a leader and a warrior. And more interestingly, the reason that these women could be leaders and warrior was not the absence of male members of their family; rather they were in the position of commanding while other male members of their family were alive. These kinds of information are critical in order to understand the working of gender system in those communities.

Besides the gender system in tribal communities, it is also interesting to note another question mark about the gender policy of the Ottoman State. A woman being leader of tribe and being officially recognized by the State both as *kethüda* and as a soldier, opens a path question the gender system within the Ottoman Empire of the 19th century at the level of both state and regional life.

Through the history of Black Fatma(s) in the Ottoman Empire we are also able to follow the relation between *Başıbozüks* and the Ottoman State and how the relation between a leader of thief gang and the State can turn out to be a relation of allies during the war times.

4. CHAPTER 3:

BLACK FATMA OF THE CRIMEAN WAR: THE WESTERN GAZE

4.1. Black Fatma in the Western Press

Most of the sources about the Black Fatma of the Crimean War come from the Western press. During the Crimean War, together with the Western military forces, the Western press was also in Istanbul. Black Fatma, as an unveiled Eastern woman warrior thus constituted an attractive subject for a Western press. Most of the data gathered from these Western articles are consistent with the Ottoman resources that were focused in the previous chapter. Furthermore, it is also through the gravures and descriptions in the Western literature that we have an idea about the visual appearance about Black Fatma.

In the *Illustrated London News* there are three articles published in April 22, 1854, in June 22, 1854 and in July 1, 1854, respectively about Black Fatma. The April 22 publication is titled “Black Fatma at Constantinople” and together with the article there is also a gravure of Black Fatma pictured with the cavalry in Istanbul:

Within the last month of the forces the Sultan have received an accession which has excited very great interest at the great focus of enthusiasm at Constantinople. The new ally is Kara Fatima Hanoun, whom our Artist has sketched as he witnessed her procession through the streets of Stamboul, accompanied by her 300 Kurdish horsemen. To understand fully their importance, it may be as well to glance at the country whence they have been recruited. The eastern and the southern parts of Asia Minor are the patrimony of wandering tribes, who to a fierce Mussulman spirit unite. A strong feeling of independence, and who are always ready to contest the authority of the Sultan, except when it is in real danger. A line drawn from Sinope to Smyrna will mark the boundary of the regions which, totally subjected to the authority of the Pachas, furnish their contingent of Bashi-bozouks according to a regular militia law of great antiquity. To the south-east of this line the peninsula contributes no certain supply of men, and it is only on occasions like the present that the name of the Prophet of the love of plunder induces them to quit their plains and mountains, and venture into contact with civilized man. One of these tribes, said to be capable of furnishing 4000 horsemen, is under the guidance of the above women, whose name, or rank, is expressed by the word “Fatima.” Their home is in the mountains of Cilicia, and whether or not they are of kin to ancient pirates, they certainly bear a strong moral resemblance. Three hundred of them set out from their stronghold; and their appearance in Scoutari gave rise to the excitement which our Artist has depicted. The Queen, or the Prophetess—for she is endowed with supernatural attributes—is a little dark old woman of about sixty, with nothing of the Amazon in her appearance, although she wears what seems to be intended for male attire, and bestrides her steed like the warriors of her train. She is attended by two hand-maids, like herself in masculine costume, and was brought across the Bosphorus, with a select band of followers, to a species of barrack in Stamboul. The Bashi-bozouks are beings of refined intelligence in comparison with these nomads of the Karamanian wilds, whose condition and numbers are unknown even to the Pachas

of the province. Their arms are various, and seem to indicate a mode of warfare in which each man keeps the spoils he has won. Some carry the pistols and yatagan of the Albanian, here and there is a rifle that may have come from Birmingham, and a carved scimitar from the forges of Syria. One will carry a wooden club or mace, which he swings round his head, chattering his teeth, and gesticulating violently as if to make up for the poverty of his armament by a display of ferocity. The long matchlock of the Affghan is not wanting, and the individuals of the tribe are said to retain the bows and arrows of their remote forefathers. One account declares that conjugal affection has impelled the heroine to her perilous enterprise. Her husband is expiating sundry misdemeanours in a Candian prison, and Fatima, fearful that her entreaties would have little effect on the Sultan without some proof of her loyalty, has brought 300 of her best warriors to fight the Muscovite, the reasonable terms of eighty piasters a month, with tooth and stirrup money in every village they may traverse.

We understand that Fatima comes from Marach, a town of Kurdistan; on her arrival in Scoutari, she was presented to the Sultan; and her appearance in the streets, followed by her Kurdish cavalcade, and a large number of mules and camels said to contain money for the pay of the troops, attracted immense crowds of people, especially women, at every point where she was expected to appear. Our Artist met her escort at the Seraskeriat, where her cavalry had been reviewed by the Minister of War. In the View is shown the outside of the Seraskeriat, with pagoda gate. This wide space leads to the widest thoroughfare in Stamboul, and is a sort of Regent-street for the Turkish ladies: the pathway is covered, and the shops are gaily painted. On the right lies the Mosque of the Sultan Bajazet, better known by Europeans as the Mosque of the Pigeons; and myriads of these birds, which the Mahomedans hold sacred, are to be seen at the yard of the mosque. Our Artist has shown Fatima and her cortege emerging from the grand Seraskeriat gates, and above the wall is seen a portion of the great tower, the wall is painted blue, so that it sets off admirably the amphitheatre of Turkish women. Fatima's costume is described as a very dirty pelisse, with broad sleeves; dirty white trousers and yellow boots; long pistols and a yatagan in her girdle; and in her hand, a lance bearing as pennant a darkish rag. Her head-dress is a long piece of white linen, wrapped all over and round the neck but leaving the entire face visible. She wore no jewellery. Her charger, like those of her attendant cavalcade, was sort of a lean and ungroomed animal, of little blood, but with long flowing mane and tail, and the bony head and inverted curved neck, which is characteristic of the Kurdistan steeds. By Fatima's side rode her brother, wearing an immense fez over his rolled turban, and covered, like every one of the suite, with a ragged cloak. Preceding them, a little on the left, and behind two gend'armes that opened the march, rode a very droll-looking fellow, playing a little drum, stuck on the fore part of his saddle; with the accompaniment obligato of nasal singing and grimaces. His conical cap is identical with that we see on the head of the King's fools, upon our stage; it was made of fur, with something like a fox's tail hanging from the top. This personage, our Artist afterwards learned, is the fool of Fatima, and server, also, for her first musician. Around, before, and behind the cortege were persons to keep the road clear. Everywhere Turkish women stood by hundreds. Such is

Fatima and her cortege, who have recently laid their services at the feet of the Sultan. (p.363)⁵⁶

According to this article, Black Fatma came to Istanbul with a Kurdish cavalry of 300 people and was the leader of tribe with the capability of gathering four thousand horsemen. The writer of the article was unsure whether Fatma is the real name or the nick-name of Black Fatma. She came from *Maraş* in the region of Cilicia (*Kilikya*) and her tribe was one of the Bashıbozouk tribes which were not under the full control of the sultanate. However, according to the article, Bashıbozouks establish alliance with the Ottoman state under certain occasions, especially in the name of Islam, against a non-Muslim state. Furthermore, the war against Russia was a holy one in that sense which made Black Fatma to join the Ottoman army with her cavalrymen. This woman, together with her cavalry highly impressed the people of İstanbul. She rode the horse like a man, western style not side-saddle as women generally did and dressed like a man. However, despite these male characteristics, she does not look like an Amazon in appearance since she is already 60, dark skinned, and short petite. Two women (concubines) dressed like men as did Black Fatma, escort her with her brother, also in the cavalry, riding next to her.

The writer states that according some rumors, her motivations to such a dangerous act is her love for her husband. Her husband was imprisoned and in order to affect the Sultan in a positive way and demonstrating the loyalty of the tribe, Black Fatma joined the war against the Russians with her cavalry of 300 men by paying 80 *kuruş* per month to each. Black Fatma visits the Sultan when she arrives to İstanbul. Together with the Kurdish horsemen, she also has camels and mules carrying bags supposed to be filled with the money for the cavalry. Everyone, but especially the women are greatly attracted by that view.

Another article about Black Fatma and the Kurdish troops was published in June 24, 1854 in the *Illustrated London News*:

⁵⁶ For Turkish translation also see Mehmet Bayrak, *Geçmişten Günümüze Kürt Kadını*, Ankara: Özge Yayınları, 2002, pp.109-113.

Sketches from the War KURDISH TROOPS AT SCUTARI: The accompanying cortege of Kurdish cavalry has been sketched by our artist at Scutari, where they formed part of the escort of Kara Fatma, Queen or Prophetess, the new ally of the Sultan. Her company consists of 300 horseman, whose costumes and general appearance is very picturesque. Kara herself comes from Maraeh, a town of Kurdistan. The Kurds are a wandering tribe of Persia, whose courage, in the event of a general war in Asia, would render them a formidable ally. They effectually protect the frontier; but have themselves also become robbers, and frequently lay waste the neighbouring valleys and plains.” p.598⁵⁷

The third article which mentions about Black Fatma in the Illustrated London News was published in July 1, 1854 with the title “War on Danub”e. The article is about the troops that joined the Crimean War. In the conclusion, Black Fatma is referred as an extraordinary case of the War:

A mere extraordinary novelty still is a female chief of Bashi-bozouks, Fatima Hanoun, or Kara Guzel, an old Kurdish woman of seventy-eight, who rides astride of splendid Arab chargers at the head of 400 Kurds, who astonishes the spectator by her dirty appearance, and the skill with which she fires pistols. She is of considerable wealth, and courageous, has her face uncovered, contrary to the practice of Osmanlis, and expresses her disapproval of what she calls the antiquated and foolish custom of her country women, who remain at home and veil themselves from sight, as if it were not far preferable for them to follow their husbands, and aid them in the holy war about to be waged against the Russians...” (p.628)

As can be followed from the article, Black Fatma was also called *Kara Güzel* (Black Beauty). She was good at using guns and her appearance was dirty for a Western audience. The critical information of this paragraph is Black Fatma’s criticism of Ottoman women. Black Fatma, a woman of the East (since İstanbul has also semi-western connotations also of Istanbul), of dirty appearance, looked like a man, has criticized the Ottoman women for adopting an “antiquated” and “foolish” custom of veiling and remaining at home. More strikingly, this criticism of women by a woman being captured in the private sphere continues with a call for women to join the holy war which is a call to a “totally” male public sphere. It is surely doubtful whether Black Fatma really voiced those criticisms or not. It is probable that she might had said those things as woman leading a cavalry, however it is also probable that this call also had a meaning for the Western audience, so that the publisher of the *Illustrated London News* preferred to stress this point about Black Fatma. The perspective of the newspaper will

⁵⁷ For Turkish translation also see Mehmet Bayrak, *Geçmişten Günümüze Kürt Kadını*, p.113

be discussed below in terms of the representation of an Eastern woman warrior for a Western audience.

Black Fatma, “The Amazon” took her place also in the pages of *New York Times*, in November 8, 1887:

KARA FATMA, THE AMAZON

From the Pall Mail Gazette

People just now in Constantinople are interested in the presence among them of Kara Fatma, the redoubtable female warrior of Kurdistan, who has come on a brief visit to the Turkish capital. Her deeds of prowess date back to the beginning of the Crimean War when she led a large body of Kurdish volunteers, who fought for singular daring for Turkey. The Ottoman government remembers her services, and requites these by a monthly pension of 5.000 piastres—a sum that in her frugal home allows her to live with ease. She is tall, thin, with a brown, hawk-like face; her cheeks are the color of parchment and seamed with scars. Wearing the national dress of the sterner sex, she looks like a man of 40, not like a woman who will never again see 75. Slung across her shoulders in Cossack fashion is her long sabre, with its jeweled hilt; decorations shine and sparkle on her breast, while the stripes across her sleeve show her to be a Captain in the Ottoman Army. Watching this interesting figure pass along the streets of Stamboul, one is reminded of an episode in the campaign of Gen. Lespinasse in the Dobrudja some short while before the allied armies landed in the Crimea. While smoking and chatting one day in his tent with several of his brother officers the General heard at far distance a strange music, the medley of drums and clarinets, tomtoms, and piercing human cries. Whence came this weird minstrelsy? All the men in the camp turned out to listen to it and discern its origin when over the hills they saw a band of some 300 horseman approaching them at full gallop. At their head rode a brown-faced woman, with flashing eyes and lissom limbs, the very picture of an Amazon. Vaulting from her saddle, she gravely saluted Gen. Lespinasse and through an interpreter told him that she had come to fight the Russians both she and her brave Kurds being completely at his service. That night her men were quartered in camp with the French troops; but they were ill-pleased to be so billeted. They want their independence, and not even their mistress and leader should barter it away from them. By daybreak they were in their saddles riding off across the hills to meet the dawn, to the sounds of that weird, strident music which had proclaimed their approach.

From the piece above, we learn that Black Fatma visited Istanbul in 1887. In parallel with the documents from the Ottoman State Archives, the writer also mentioned that Black Fatma was put on salary for her success in the Crimean War. The information about the physical appearance and the clothing of Black Fatma is similar to the information given in other newspaper articles.

Another source that mentions about Black Fatma of the Crimean War is written by Slade⁵⁸, an English officer who does counseling for the Ottoman army:

The frequent transit of Bashi-bazouk during the spring of 1854, made at length the Constantinopolitans indifferent to the motley exhibition, as well as doubtful of the wisdom of having evoked such gentry from their distant homes. The Bashi-bazouk, however from Marash, who arrived among the latest, revived waning interest. They numbered about a hundred, all kinsmen, under their chieftainess, Kara Fatma, a single middle-aged lady, with a complexion tanned by exposure, and a countenance which indicated self-possession and the habit of command. From the hour of her arrival at Scutari nobody else was spoken of in the circles and cafes of the capital; and in hopes of seeing her, the avenues along which she was expected to pass were crowded several days in anticipation. The novelty stirred the etiquette of the seraglio into manifestations of curiosity. When joined by the Bashi-bazouks from Adana and Konia, forming all together a company of about three hundred, they were crossed over the water with unusual aquatic honours. Deemed worth of an imperial regard, they were landed near the palace. Thence the streets of Fındıklı, Tophana, Galata and Stamboul, with the “new bridge” and numerous boats lying off on either side, swarmed with spectators eager to see the Amazon. Except on the passage of the “sacred camels”, laden with the annual present for Mecca, from Topkapı Sarayı to Bakçe Kapısı, one has rarely seen a denser throng in the streets of Constantinople. Kara Fatima, with an ancient on either side, rode first, habited in the Damascene riding attire, and armed with saber and pistols. Her Arabian, of pure blood, scarce showed any ill-effects from his long journey. Her followers rode in pairs after their lady, bearing themselves with dignity, and evidently esteeming themselves, as they doubtless were, truer believers than the spectators; who seemed highly amused by the scene, although somewhat scandalized by the appearance of a Moslem woman unveiled. Arrived at seraskerat, Kara Fatima and her near kinsmen alighted, and went upstairs to visit the serasker. Rıza Paşa received them courteously. He invited them to be seated on a row of chairs, in front of his sofa. He regaled them with coffee; but did not vouchsafe the pipe to provincials. After an interchange of compliments, they took leave with profound salaams, the lady alone kissing the hem of the functionary’s garment. She remounted at the foot of the stairs; her followers gathered round her in the square; the mufti chanted the war hymn; they caracolled in review before the windows of the divan; and then proceeded joyously on their way to Daoud Paşa barracks.

In this quotation written by Slade, different from the previous sources, Black Fatma’s cavalry, coming from Marash, consisted of a hundred men and together with the other Bashibozouks coming from Adana and Konya they added up to three to four hundred men. Slade’s representation of Black Fatma is a portrays an “exceptional”

⁵⁸ *Turkey and the Crimean War, A Narrative of Historical Events*, Rear-Admiral Sir Adolphus Slade, K.C.B. (Mushaver Paşa), London: Smith, Elder and Co., 65, Cornhill. 1867. pp.186-188.

oriental woman. This Eastern woman was an exception both for the Western eye and the “Eastern eye” of the public of Istanbul. We can understand from the quotation that Black Fatma’s visit to Istanbul was a big event of the time. She was “different” from the women of Istanbul. What made her the object of the public eye was that she was a warrior, commander, single woman, coming all the way to Istanbul leading a cavalry to assist the Sultanate in his highly critical war with Russia. She had the power to command: she was “the” leader.

According to an 1867 article published in *Le Tour du Monde*, Black Fatma was a leader of a tribe in Kurdistan. She was not a young woman. She was ugly, however together with horsemen escorting her, she presented a very beautiful view. The government in Istanbul, asked her to join the war due to her high influence over her train. *Black Princes* returns back to her mountains after her visit of a few weeks in Istanbul. However, according to the article, Black Fatma is more famous in Istanbul, than in Kürdistan.⁵⁹ It is only in this piece is it stated that Black Fatma returned to her home and did not join the Crimean War. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, it is known that she joined the war and even put on a salary for her efforts.

In a later article written in 1881 about the cultural life of Kurdish women, Black Fatma represents the warrior soul of Kurdish women.⁶⁰ As can be followed from the article, she was born in Rovandiz. In parallel with other articles, the writer stresses how she became famous in Istanbul. She had costumes similar to that of a man and stood proudly with her white horse as the leader of the tribe. Her appearance, with her cloths and also with dark complexion her skin totally resembled that of a man: it is almost beyond the imagination that there existed woman under those clothes and that skin. There is no sign of the magical Arabic atmosphere in her that the warriors around the Sultan had. She was not a romantic character since she had no female characteristic. According to the article, she never went to war with Russia, but returned back to the mountains of Rovandiz and consequently loses her fame:

⁵⁹ “Les Kurdes Yezidis” *Le Tour du Monde*, Vol-16, Paris, 1867 cited in Mehmet Bayrak, p.114.

⁶⁰ Amand Freiherr v. Schwieger – Lerchenfeld, *Das Frauenleben der Erde*, Viyana-Leipzig, 1881. for Turkish translation also look Bayrak, p.122.

Women participating in feuds, manifest the martial and bright mind of this ethnic/lusty mountain people, in this respect, for example, did Kara-Fatma (the Black Fatime), a Kurdish Amazon, gain historical famousness. She originates from one of the wildest mountainous areas, from Rowandiz, and gathered, at the outbreak of the Crimean War, all kinds of rowdy people around her in order to place herself/themselves at the disposal of Badijschah. Her appearance caused sensation in Constantinople: she was totally manly dressed and rode her milk-white stallion with the expertness/sophistication of a strong-willed clan chief. Being used to trade of war since the youth, she changed her appearance to a totally male, weather beaten, and no person would have recognized a woman in this appearance at the end of her life. She did not possess any of the magic that is connected with the Arab battle palladium, the "hadijah", neither offered the romantic ebullience anything because she had absolutely nothing female on herself. Her intention to participate in the battles against Russia was not realized and when she later took off towards her homeland with her entourage, she was completely lost/forgotten. Maybe there is a white tombstone decorated with chiselled daggers, battle axes, and lances somewhere at a vertiginous rock foot path, as it appertains for a proper Kurdish warrior grave.⁶¹

These Western pieces about Black Fatma spoke to a Western audience, not to the Ottoman public. However it would be interesting to know what kind of effect Black Fatma created in Istanbul. The Crimean War was one of the critical wars of the Ottoman history and the Ottoman State had employed all its resources to the War and besides also took foreign support. In such an image of the end of the resources, it would be interesting to analyze the social-psychological state of the patriarchal Ottoman Sultanate

⁶¹Ibid. "Von dem kriegerischen und aufgeweckten Sinne dieses urwüchsigen Bergvolkes zeugt auch, dass selbst Frauen sich an Fehden beteiligen, und in dieser Hinsicht hat beispielsweise die Kurden-Amazone Kara-Fatma (die schwarze Fatime) historische Berühmtheit erlangt. Sie stammt aus einer der wildesten Gebirgsgauen, aus Rowandiz und scharte bei Ausbruch des Krim Krieges allerlei rauflustiges Volk um sich, mit der Absicht, sich dem Badijschah zur Verfügung zu stellen. Ihr Auftreten in Konstantinopel erregt begreiflicherweise Sensation: Sie war ganz männlich gekleidet und ritt ihren milchweißen Zelter mit der Gewandtheit eines entschlossenen Clan-Häuptlings. Schon von Jugend auf an das Kriegshandwerk gewöhnt, veränderte sich auch ihr Äußeres zu einem vollkommen männliche, wetterharten, und kein Mensch würde am Ende ihrer Lebenstage in dieser Erscheinung - ein Weib erkannt haben. Von jenem Zauber freilich, der das arabische Schlachtenpalladium, die „Hadijah“ umwebt, besaß sie nichts und ebenso bot die romantischen Überschwänglichkeiten keinen Stoff, denn sie hatte absolut nichts weibliches an sich. Ihre Absicht, an den Kämpfen gegen Russland teilzunehmen, verwirklichten sich nicht und als sie später mit ihrem Gefolge wieder in die Heimat abzog, ging sie vollständig verschollen... Vielleicht ragt irgendwo an schwindelndem Felssteige im Alpenlande von Rowandiz ein weißer Leichenstein, geziert mit eingemeißelten Dolchen, Streitäxten und Lanzenspießen, wie sich's gebührt für ein echt kurdisches Kriegergrab."

in the face of a need of help, even of a “woman”. However, this analysis is beyond the limits of this thesis.

4.2. Citizenship and Gender in the West

In order to understand the message about Black Fatma for Western readers and especially for Western women, in addition to the relation between gender and militarism that is discussed in the first chapter, we also have to take into consideration the Orientalist discourse and instrumentalization of this discourse to deter women from citizenship. 19th century Europe was witnessing rise of the feminist movement and one of the basic demands of the women was to be “equal” citizens of their countries. The close relation between soldiers and citizens already constituted an obstacle for women to become full citizens. It is in this context that representation of Black Fatma in the Western press became critical.

Citizenship is defined in the public sphere while attributing certain characteristics to the private sphere. Establishing the relation between public and private as a duality, a dichotomy or distinction is a modern phenomenon. The success of modernism is to reflect public/private distinction as a natural existence and to set up this relation as an ahistorical and universal duality. What was naturalized with this distinction was the inequality between sexes and continuously, the unequal existence of women in the public sphere even when allowed to exist. Public/private distinction means drawing the borders of the “habitat” of women with respect to their close ties to the private even when she is in the public. Citizenship, defined by the private/public dichotomy is exclusionary despite the promise of modern democracy to encompass all the people. Women are one of those who fail to have the prerequisites of citizenship. As Pateman argues, there is an ideological tension in women’s citizenship, since there is a tension in the relationship that women have with the public sphere.

Democracy in Ancient Greece owed its existence to the exclusion of slaves, women and *metics* but yet the inclusion of peasants. So, democracy had established itself together with a social and economic structure which drew the boundaries of membership to the community of *demos*. Pocock, makes his argument at this point and sets citizenship as an ideal which has its own prerequisites. The main difference between a classical citizen and an imperial or modern subject is that, the former rule and

was ruled, he was a participant in determining the laws by which he was to be bound. The latter could go into court and invoke a law that granted him rights, immunities, privileges and even authority.⁶²

Strengthening of the centralist state was followed by the strengthening of the patriarchal family in the sense that, the father of the household obtained the public power of the Lord. Patriarchalism was developed in the 17th century as a justification of divine-right absolutism. Filmer in his book *Patriarcha or the Natural Power of Kings*, opposed the idea that mankind is naturally born with freedom from all subjection. Patriarchal structure, he argues, does not make a concrete separation between the public and the private. On the contrary, the relation of the father and son is considered as applicable to all layers of society. Filmer used the natural subjection of children to their parents as the basis of his argument. The power of the king was directly derived from the power of Adam over his descendants: since people cannot choose their fathers, similarly they cannot choose their kings. Law exists not to control the King but to control the people. This was also true for those who owned the throne by election. The reason of this statement was that God's support, shown by success, gives a king the power of a father. Parliament was nothing without the King. It was created to advise to the King. He makes the rule at the request of the Parliament, not by the Parliament by itself.

This was the usage of familial images in the discussions of political authority. The family was central to the major political thought in the period, that is patriarchalism, which is the theory of the divine-right monarchy. Consensual theorists also used paternal authority to explain why consent was necessary. Their argument was that, although fathers had supreme power within their own families, there was no one who naturally had that kind of power over all the fathers of families. This authority was established by consent of men.

As can be followed from the discussions above, patriarchal civil society is divided into two spheres but attention is directed to one sphere only. The story of the social contract is treated as an account of the creation of the public sphere of civil freedom.

⁶² Pocock, p.39.

The other, the private sphere, is not seen as politically relevant. Marriage and marriage contract are deemed politically irrelevant. However, the sexual contract and the social contract are not two separate contracts; furthermore, sexual contract is not just about the private sphere. Patriarchal right extends throughout civil society. Modern patriarchy is not established on the mutually exclusive model of the public and private sphere, but on the contrary on their continuous interrelationship.

The terms natural and civil gain their meaning from their relationship with each other. Women are incorporated into a sphere that both is and is not in civil society. The private sphere is part of civil society but is separated from the civil sphere. To exemplify, by the end of 1700s, in the US new attitudes toward the authority of women enabled mothers and wives to be valued as the inculcators of republican political values in children and men. Women became Republic Mothers or Republican Wives. This change can be referred as the paradox of a politicized domestic realm developing at the same time as the doctrine of separate spheres. Virtue was located in the family. Women, especially in their role as mothers were endowed with a newfound moral authority. The public/private distinction was in this manner redrawn, turning the classical ideal of male civic virtue on its head.⁶³

Resulting from the paradoxical relation between public and private in modernity, the citizenship of the women is established upon an ideological tension, which also means that there is tension in the relation of women to the public. This inner tension is ideologically represented by Locke when he subordinated women to their husbands through natural authority while he based political authority to consent. Separating societies into public and private spheres, and developing an understanding of citizenship over such dichotomy lead inevitably to asymmetry among men and women. Modern duality of public/private not only explains the enclosure of women to the private sphere, it also explains the asymmetry when women get into the public sphere. They are considered as citizen as a member of a family which is established over a non-egalitarian sexual contract. Modern duality of public/private does not include patriarchy as remainder of the past, but rather as a constitutive element.

⁶³ Ruth Bloch, *Gender and Morality in Anglo-American Culture, 1650-1800*, NJ, USA: University of California Press, 2003, p.161.

4.3. Representation of Amazons in the West

The Amazons were first known to be in the early versions of the Iliad. They were described as a race of females who were the equal of males in battle. It was also said that they cut off their right breasts in order to better their use of bows and arrows. Some classical authors located the Amazons near Greece, some to Libya and even Atlantis, and others, including Herodotus, placed them in Scythia or Asia Minor. However, contemporary archaeological evidence argues to a historical people of the southern Russian steppes called the Sauromatians, among whom the women (who rode horseback) appear to have enjoyed a privileged status⁶⁴.

Amazons in the middle ages were known through a number of European authors based their accounts of Amazons on classical sources such as Herodotus and more through the accounts of medieval travel writers⁶⁵. Amazons were represented as “women-without-men” in the early explorers’ reports which were strikingly different from their classical cousins. For example, contrary to the classical age, in the medievalist’s representation of Amazons, their seclusion, did not necessarily translate into martial activity directed at men. Only some sixteenth-century European writers followed classical sources in describing them as single-breasted⁶⁶.

The Amazon warrior women were not just expressions of sixteenth-century anxieties about gender. The fascination and terror that they inspired in the Europeans had close ties with actual male-female relations. However, Amazon women were also representing nature’s violence and terrifying force⁶⁷. “Alien on the one hand, the warrior women, with their deep roots in Western literature, were, on the other, almost familiar and thus oddly reassuring. Moreover, as the stuff of myth, they conveniently transcended boundaries not only of gender, but also of time and place. In so doing, they conferred a larger-than-life status upon the beleaguered Spaniards”⁶⁸.

⁶⁴ Slater, Candace. *Entangled Edens : Visions of the Amazon*. Ewing, NJ, USA: University of California Press, 2002, p. 82

⁶⁵ Ibid., p.83.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p.85.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.45.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p.93.

4.4. Conclusion

The key notion in Orientalism is that the entire idea of the Orient is a construction by European and American writers over centuries. “The Orient” is an idea that allows writers to group together a vast number of people across time and space and to write about them. The Orient is not about any real place; it is a projection or (say) a kind of geographical construction. In Edward Said’s own words “The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe’s greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other”. In addition, the Orient has helped to define Europe (the West) as its contrasting image, idea personality, experience. Yet none of this Orient is merely imaginative. The Orient is an integral part of European material civilization and culture.” What we can understand from this definition of the Orient is that Western writers constructed “The West” by creating an opposite image, in order to structure their self-identity. They were able to do this because, they were the hegemonic/ dominant. The representations of Amazons and specifically that of Black Fatma as an Amazon was developed on this gendered Orientalist hegemonic discourse.

As can be followed through the documents above, there is a gap between the Western imagination of a warrior woman and the “real” Black Fatma. The Western eye looks for an oriental Amazon who, despite her warrior characteristics, has totally a female image. This image has the eroticism and exoticism of the visibility of the female body in a totally male context. It is the contradiction between male sphere and female appearance that creates that eroticism. It is the “supernatural” and “mysterious” power that a woman has in man’s domain that adds to the creation of eroticism. However, in the case of Black Fatma of the Crimean war, what the West sees is a woman in a male body rather than a female body in a male sphere. Black Fatma looked nothing like the conventional view of a female, young and pretty: wore male dress, is old, and her face and body unattractive. She is a woman imitating a man who is totally in harmony with the context rather than a woman who carries her femaleness to the sphere of war. So, Black Fatma does not satisfy the desire of the Orientalist Western eye that searches for an erotic Eastern woman heroine.

The critical key point in all these documents is the stress on the ugliness of Black Fatma. Why do they frequently emphasize this characteristic? Why and how do they imitate her ugliness in the pictures that they draw? These questions are all related to the representation of warrior women in the Western world. In the 19th century of the European World, women warriors or heroines were the warriors in Greek mythologies, in the legends of the Middle Ages or the Amazons of the colonized world. All of these women were beautiful, strong and erotic objects of the Western Eye. They did not constitute any danger for the hegemonic discourse of the West, which prohibited Western women to enlist. Being a soldier was an indispensable part of citizenship and 19th century was the starting of the struggle of women to become citizens. So the figure of a warrior woman was something that might be dangerous for the patriarchal rule of the West.

Despite the stress on the weirdness and the ugliness of Black Fatma, in almost all of the documents, there is also, however, a stress on the beauty and the pretentiousness of the view that the cavalry under the command of Black Fatma has.

As referred in the documents, the women in Istanbul who saw Black Fatma and the cavalry that she was commanding were attracted a lot by Black Fatma. Black Fatma, not as a female warrior character, but rather as a woman of male appearance might to be more astonishing for those women. This argument does not exclude the astonishment of seeing a woman as a warrior, the leader of a tribe and leading a cavalry. The picture that is drawn in the Western documents is more a picture of a “creature” than a “human being”. And this “creature” might be an oriental creature not just for the West, but also for Istanbul.

It was more feasible and even functional for the West to control and manipulate figures of the Amazons of Africa. They were considered not even to be a civilization and to be destined to live under the rule of the West. These women warriors, despite their strength were already representing the uncivilized, backward and wild humanity and femaleness. They were far away from being a role model for the Western women. However, Ottoman society, was already a “civilization” in the neighbor area of the West. Orientalist discourse worked differently in the case of the Ottoman Empire. A woman warrior in 1850s in the Ottoman Empire constituted more danger for the West. An Ottoman warrior woman, leading a cavalry could then be an attractive model for

Western women. So, the more Black Fatma becomes an alien due to her ugliness, age and ambiguity of her sexual identity, the less she could be a threat for the Western context. She was not a member of Western icon of women warriors; however despite this fact, the West represented her in the pages of the journals. The reason was in what Black Fatma says in those pages to the Western women: "I am different from you, I am not even a woman, I am too ugly to be a woman." So, the message that was sent by the West to its women was, to be warrior women was an uncivilized position in itself which is suitable for a ugly Eastern women.

5. CHAPTER 4:

BLACK FATMA(S) OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

5.1. Gender and Nationalism

In order to understand the position and the representation of Black Fatma(s) during the War of Independence, the gendering process within the nationalist policies should be taken into consideration. The relation between nation and gender, that is, the relation between national project and sexual project, that is, the role of national politics in the shaping of sexual politics or the vice versa has been one of the critical issues in feminist discourse, specifically discussed with reference to the feminisms in the Third World in the postcolonial period. Most of the literature on “nationalism and gender” tells how womanhood is defined and women are oriented according to the needs of nationalist politics. In their work, Anthias and Yuval-Davis suggest that there are five major ways in which women are involved in ethnic and national processes:

- a) as biological reproducers of members of ethnic collectivities;
- b) as reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic/national groups;
- c) as participating centrally in the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and as transmitters of its culture;
- d) as signifiers of ethnic/national differences as a focus and symbol in ideological discourses used in the construction, reproduction and transformation of ethnic/national categories;
- e) as participants in national, economic, political and military struggles.⁶⁹

Sylvia Walby, in her article “Woman and Nation” raises the question of whether these five encompass all the major ways that gender and ethnic relations intersect. Her first point is that this categorization privileges the ideological or cultural level. The division of labor is absent from the list. Second, this categorization underemphasizes that conflict, and the maintenance of boundaries between ethnic/national groups is also a conflict between different forms of social hierarchies, not only of different cultures. Ethnic/national conflicts may be expected to benefit the interests of the members of that grouping differentially.⁷⁰ So, Walby points to the women’s differential involvement in the national projects, rather than the participation of women in the national projects.

⁶⁹ Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval Davis ‘Introduction’, *Woman-Nation-State*, London: Macmillan, 1989, p.7.

⁷⁰ Sylvia Walby, “Women and Nation”, In *Ethnicity and Nationalism*. Edited by A.D. Smith. New York: E.J. Brill, 1989: 81-89. pp.82-84.

And, further, she argues that women and men have different identifications with national projects and may have different commitments to different types of macro-level groupings.

If the politics of gender are an important determinant in the shaping of nationalist projects, then women's relation to the nationalist projects in terms of their demand and their power to challenge nationalist projects should be taken into consideration. Jayawardena, her book *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, argues that feminists were active in pushing for the emancipation of women in the Third World nationalist movements at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. She further argues that there were feminist components in these women's movements. In the countries such as Egypt, Iran, Afghanistan, India, Sri-Lanka, Indonesia, the Philippines, China, Vietnam, Korea and Japan, there existed feminist movements in relation with anti-imperialist and nationalist movements.⁷¹

Walby's criticism to the categorization made by Anthias and Yuval-Davis and the case studies analyzed in the book by Jayawerdana are significant in the sense that they open a path in formulating the relationship between identities, specifically gender and ethnic identity. By opposing the object position of women in the nationalist project and uncovering the possibility of raising feminist demands in relation to anti-imperialist nationalist demands, the relation between gender and national and ethnic identities might be analyzed by taking these identities in mutual relation, rather than one way effect.

Generally in most of the social movements, specifically in the nationalist movements, women were asked to choose between feminism and nationalism. Badran, defines this either/or choice as a patriarchal formulation, since it places a patriotic/nationalist burden on women. It forces women to postpone their feminist demands until after independence. However, she argues that there might be positions in which women need not postpone their own demands; on the contrary, they can make a good combination of their feminist and national demands in struggling against imperialism and patriarchy. Cases such as Egypt and Iran demonstrate how women fought both as nationalists and as feminists and how they generated a construct of

⁷¹ Ibid., p.84

nationalism in which women's liberation was embedded. Algeria, however, is a case in which the nationalist experience did not produce feminism.⁷²

As Badran states, forcing women to make a choice between nationalism and feminism on behalf of nationalism is defined as patriarchal burden. This burden can also be established in a reversed formulation. What if women were asked to postpone their nationalist, anti-imperialist demands in favor of feminism? How can we formulate the burden on Third World women put by First World feminism? The point is that, as in Iran or Egypt that are mentioned above, women can develop policies consisting of all their demands through their gender, class and ethnic identities.

In order to develop such a perspective, patriarchy should be analyzed in relation to other oppressing systems. Just as questioning the patriarchal connotations within nationalism and imperialism, nationalist and imperialist connotations should also be analyzed within feminism. There is not only one feminism, nor is there one patriarchy. Feminism is imperialist when it puts the interests and needs of privileged women in imperialist countries above the local needs of women and men, borrowing from patriarchal privilege.⁷³

5.2. Black Fatma(s) of the War of Independence

Black Fatma(s) constitute a genre as the symbols of *Anatolian women warriors* of the War of Independence. The literature on the War of Independence is based on the mystification of the glory through the disadvantages Turks faced against the giant West: Turkish nation was using all its resources to the limits. In such a "context" enters the stories of the heroines of the Turkish women warriors: Ayşe Hanım, Asker Samime Hanım, Nazife Kadın, Tayyar Rahmiye, Zeynep Hanım, Gördesli Makbule, Hatice Hanım... and *Black Fatma(s)* (Fatma Seher, Tarsuslu Kara, Fatma, Fatma Özişçi, Kara Fatma Şimşek).⁷⁴

⁷² Margot Badran. "Dual Liberation: Feminism and Nationalism in Egypt, 1870s-1925" *Feminist Issues*, 8, No. 1, (Spring 1988), p.16; p.31.

⁷³ Ann McClintock, "Gender, Race and Nationalism" in *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives*. Edited by Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti and Ella Shohat. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997:89-112. p.421.

⁷⁴ Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, Milli Eğitim Basım Evi, İstanbul, 1997, pp.168-173; Afet İnan, *Tarih Boyunca Türk Kadınının Hak ve Görevleri*, Milli

Fatma Seher is the most famous Black Fatma of the War of Independence. She is from Erzurum and she fought in the front of İzmit. As can be followed from an article written by a journalist in *Yeni İnci* in 1922 and from a biographical book written Fatma Seher in 1944, she seems to join the War of Independence as a woman fighter.

The first article that introduces Black Fatma to the public is the one published in *Yeni İnci*, in 1922. According to the journal, Fatma Hanım's positioning in the war proves that Turkish woman can do more than bearing up heroes and if it necessary, she herself can defend her country like a "female lion".⁷⁵ However, though Fatma Seher is represented as a heroine, as a "female lion" she is first of all a *valide*: a mother, a self-sacrificing mother.

She was the daughter of Erzurumlu Yusuf Ağa and wife of Binbaşı Derviş Efendi. After the death of her husband, she moved from Edirne. She was described as fighting in the frontlines at İzmit and her practice was much more courageous than that of a man. Her appearance is like a courageous man with her clothes and that view of a woman in the clothes of a warrior man is the most striking thing for the journalist. However, this feeling of surprise leaves its place to the feeling of respect for this woman who makes the journalist remember he's being a member of a great nation. It is above expectation that the soul of a *Fatma* can carry the heroism of a legendary race. However, name of *Black Fatma* is still famous in the mountains of İzmit, in the army in the fronts.⁷⁶

Eğitim Basım Evi, İstanbul, 1975, pp.101-103; Stanford J. Shaw, *From Empire to Republic*, vol.III, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000, pp. 1071-1075.

⁷⁵ H. M. "Kahraman Bir Mücahidemiz Fatma Hanım" *Yeni İnci* July 1338, vol.2. "Bu fedakâr valide, Türk kadınının yalnız kahramanlar yetiştirmekle kalmadığını ve icab ederse bir dişi arslan gibi bizzat yurdunu müdafaa edebileceğini de ispat etmiştir." p.9

⁷⁶ Ibid. "Ne olursa olsun böyle bir silah omzundan aşağı, fişeklere sarılı, belinde uzun kaması ve tabancasıyla dağlı bir yiğit kıyafetinde bir Anadolulu kadın, ilk defa görülünce, insana evvela derin hayret hissi veriyor. Sonra bu hissiyat yavaş yavaş bir kahraman karşısında duyulan hürmet ve ta'zim hislerine karışıyor ve insan ne büyük bir milletin evladı olduğunu o vakit gurur iftiharla duyuyor. Bana ırkımın gururunu duyuran bu mücahide kadın Fatma isminde bir Erzurum kızıdır. Bir Fatma'nın ruhundan bir gün nasıl ırkımın destanlarda söylenen kahramanlığı taşıyacağını kim umar, halbuki Kara Fatma'nın ismi İzmit dağlarında, orduda ve cepheelerde mertliklerin en büyük şanıyla söylendiğini işitirsiniz." p.9.

An interesting point about the article is that as also can be followed from the points raised above, the writers continuously focus on the dilemma of the character called Black Fatma as a woman and as a soldier. It can be argued that the journalist try to name this creature of bisexuality though legitimizing her position as the heroine of the nation. This intent is apparent mostly, when he is writing about the appearance of Black Fatma. Black Fatma: as short in length but massive with the appearance. She has a veil but her veiling style is more alike to that of men heroes. This woman has a whip with a silver handle and she uses it very cleverly. Both her body language and her looks prove that she is a heroine.⁷⁷

The critical point about the representation of Black Fatma is that, she is represented as a mother. The identity of that dilemma of having the characteristics of both gender, is in a sense solved by the help of motherhood.⁷⁸

Motherhood, in its definition has the sacred desire of devotion, a mother is a woman, who due to her instinct, devotes herself to her children and who is deprived of her sexuality. So, Black Fatma is a mother, a very strong and brave mother, who fights for saving her children; however, in this case, the nation is her child. Nevertheless it should be kept in mind that in the conventional understanding of motherhood and family, mothers are always defined as the keepers of the children but they are always the last resort to be relied on. The duty to save the family is first of all the duty of the father and then the young men of the family. Mothers come to the screen as the last

⁷⁷ Ibid. “İzmit’in caddesinde rastgelirseniz bu kısa boylu kemikli ve geniş yapılı başından örtüsünün saçakları omuzlarına sarılmış Erzurum kızının nasıl gümüş saplı kamçısını salladığını ve yürüyüşündeki kahramanca tevazunun nasıl namı etrafında dönen bütün şanlı hikâyelerden daha mağrur olduğunu göreceksiniz. Keskin kaşları altında yağız bakışları var ki, bizzat kahramanlık bu bakışların önünde küçülür.” p.9.

⁷⁸ Ibid. “Size eğer tatlı memleket şivesiyle hatırlınızı soruyorsa, sesinde o kadar merhamet ve şefkat bulursunuz ki, kahraman Fatma size yıllardan sonra kavuşulmuş bir ana kadar yakın gelir. Eğer hayatından ve şanlı muharebelerinin yadından bahs ettiğinizde kahraman Fatma, o vakit gülümser, gözleri gözlerinizden sıyrılıp uzaklara bakar. Fakat bu tatlı tebensümde ve gözlerin bu şan günlerinin yadından firar etmek isteyişinde o kadar ulvi bir tevazu vardır ki adem ellerinden öpersiniz ve “var ol ana, var ol!” diye sesiniz titrer. Ben işte böyle şanlı bir Erzurum annesini ve kadınlarının en kahramanını tanıdım.” p.9.

option, when all male adults of the family have lost their strength. So Black Fatma as the mother of the nation also is the last resort of the nation during war conditions.

This caring mother can however, become the most cruel fighter for the defense of the nation. Despite her age (she was 45), she looked young and strong enough to kill enemies. The language used to define the cruelty of Black Fatma is really a harsh one.⁷⁹

Another critical point about the story of Black Fatma is her representation as opposed to “those” who do not want to join the War of Independence. This strong woman is not just an individual ordinary soldier, but also one who leads her own team. One of the critical characteristics of this team is that, it is composed of those who previously did not want to fight in the War of Independence. However, Fatma as an intelligent and strong woman succeeds to convince them to fight.⁸⁰

The journalist also writes about a very familiar story that is told for almost all heroes of the War. First of all, she is the one who defeated the enemy in the İzmit frontline on the 29th of August. And later on the 7th of September again in İznik front she fights together with other “heroes” against the enemy. She was injured in this fight by a bullet in her chest, but she succeeded in attacking the enemy with the bullet despite the blood in her chest. The journalist states that Black Fatma’s body is full of with traces which represent the memories of the bullets of the enemy. However none of these bullets could bring death to this brave fighter.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Ibid. “Bu muharib asker kadın, gördüğüm zaman kırkbeş yaşlarında vardı. Fakat yaş bile bu kadının yüzünde görünmekten sanki ürkmüştür. Hala dinçtir ve daha çok düşman başı yiyecektir.” p.9.

⁸⁰ Ibid. “Kara Fatma birçok muharebelere iştirak eden katiasını bizzat kendi teşkil etmiştir. Mücahide-i milliye’nin bidayette hainane tezvira kapılarak istiklal mücadelesine iştirak etmek istemeyen saf insanları nerede gördüyse toplamış, onlara bu mücahidenin ulviyetini, bir kadının dahi iştirak etmiş olmasıyla faalen ispat eylemiş, maiyetine de bütün muharebelerde en fedekarane bir surette dövüşmeye sevk etmiştir.” p.9.

⁸¹ Ibid. “İznik cephesinde 29 Ağustos’ta düşmanın (... ve ...)da yaptığı taaruzu, Kara Fatma püskürttü. 7 Eylül’de bir düşman taaruzuna karşı kahramanlarla birlikte harb etti, göğsünün sağ tarafına saplanan bir mermi bu mücahidenin sinisini kan içinde bıraktı, fakat kahraman Fatma göğsünün kanlarıyla düşman üzerine yürüdü. Kara Fatma’nın

As mentioned above, Black Fatma is together with her son and brother in the “revenge” troop. The conclusion of the article is interesting in the sense that, it focuses to the so, the brother of Black Fatma and to the nation stressing how glorified they should be having such a member such as Black Fatma in their generation. Black Fatma is a miracle of the nation. It is critical to see that, while glorifying Black Fatma, the nation is praised for creating such heroines out their “mothers.”⁸²

According to the biography that Black Fatma wrote in 1944, she was in İstanbul at the age of thirty during the end of the First World War. She was highly impressed by the situation that Turkish nation was experiencing through with invasion of the Ally forces. With such a feeling of despair on the one hand about the crisis that the nation was passing through and with a feeling of trust in the national leadership of Atatürk, she moved to Sivas to join the War of Independence.⁸³

Black Fatma starts her story of meeting with Atatürk by mentioning how difficult it was to see him and thus how she changed her appearance to be able to get close to him. However, it is not that clear of the reason that she changes her clothes and wears dark veils. She succeeds to meet him on his road for dinner. Though she was

bütün vücudu düşman kurşunlarının ve şarptel misketlerinin hatırasıyla doludur. Hiçbir mermi sanki ölümü bu cesur mücahidenin vücuduna getiremedi.” p.9

⁸² Ibid. “Onun intikam taburuna gönüllü giren oğlu ne büyük bir şanın varisidir ve yine taburda gönüllü olan kardeşi yine büyük bir şanın geldiği nesilden gelmiştir. Kara Fatma şimdi İzmit karargah kumandanıdır. Ankara’ya gitmiş olması, bu kahraman kadına ancak bir selam tazim için bize şuracıkta bir fırsat verir. Yoksa onun ne cesur menkıbelerini anlatmak, ne analarından böyle kahramanlar yaratan bu milletin (...) ve tahmid etmek mümkün değildir. Çünkü bir milletin mucizeleri o kadar (...) ve bu dinin feyz-i ulvisi o kadar erişilmez bir mucizedir.” p.9.

⁸³ Kara Fatma İstiklal Harbinde, 1944. “Varlığını ve benliğini kaybetmemiş Türk milletinin geçirdiği bu esaret felaketinin ızdırabına tahammül etmeğe imkan kalmamıştı ve sui tesadüf bu felakete munzam olarak rahatsız yatıyordum. Bu güzel yurdumun bir an evvel hürriyetine ve istiklaline kavuşmasına sabırsızlanıyor, maneviyat ve imanımda kuvvetli yer almış olan bir şey varsa o da vatandaşlarımın arasında vatanperver bir kahraman zuhur ederek bu karanlığı aydınlatacağından emindim. İşte Rabbimin bana verdiği bu ilhamda yanılmamış ve Türk milletinin kurtarıcısı büyük Atatürk’ün Sivas’ta harekete geçtiğini haber aldığım dakikadan itibaren duyduğum sevinci tariften acizim..” pp.3-4.

disappointed by his harsh attitude, she disregards that due to the love of nation that her heart is full with.⁸⁴

The most interesting part in the book is the talk between Black Fatma and Atatürk when he first met her.⁸⁵ Firstly, we learn from the story that it is Atatürk who gave the name of *Kara* to Fatma and through questioning her about her ability to fight, he decided that she has the soldier qualities. His anger of being disturbed disappeared and he declared this young woman as a soldier of the nation. This talk can be taken as a representative of a negotiation between the nation and its women: women can be the member of the nation as long as they serve it. This service, might be replacing men in the time of crises, such as becoming a soldier during wars.

The second point correlations with Black Fatma's establishment of a war and a wedding. This correlation is more interesting when it is a woman that sets up that relation. Fighting, in the conventional thought of patriarchy, is an act of men. Women, while entering into the public sphere of war, they also bring their luggage of understandings. However, this luggage has to be reshaped to be compatible with the gender system. So, in this case, Black Fatma establishes parallels between war and

⁸⁴ Ibid. "Sivasta öğle yemeğine davetli bulunduğu bir yere giderken yolda yakaladım. Üzerimde çarşaf ve yüzüm de peçe ile kapalı idi. Kendisi ile bir mesele hakkında görüşmek istediğimi söyleyince ilk defa sert bir lisan kullanarak ne görüşeceksin mukabelesinde bulundular. Kalbimdeki vatan aşkı bu sert muameleye galip gelerek derhal peçemi kaldırdım..." p.5.

⁸⁵ Ibid. "...ayaklarına kapanarak hem gözlerimden yaşlar akıyor, hem de bu aziz vatani kurtaracak sensin, bütün millet senin emrini bekliyor demiştim.

Atatürk kendi elleriyle beni yerden kaldırarak alnımdan öperek:

-Adın ne?

-Fatma.

-Sen silah kullanmayı bilir misin?

-Bilirim.

-Ata biner misin?

-Binerim

-Harpten ateşten korkar mısın?

-Muharabe bana düşündür Paşam.

Atatürk bana daha başka şeyler sordu. Cevaplarımdan hoşlanmış olacak ki: Şu dakikada bütün kadınlarımız senin gibi olsa idi Kara Fatma diyerek alnımdan öptü ve işte o dakikadan itibaren adım Kara Fatma kaldı." p.5.

wedding, trying to proof that she, as woman who was grown up to be bride, can become a soldier without leaving aside her conventional gender characteristics.

After getting a letter of approval from Atatürk, Fatma moved to İstanbul, saw Topkapılı Pire Mehmet and Laz Tahsin, whom she trusted; together with them, she established a gang of 15 young men. Together with this gang, she moved to İzmit to make secret propaganda among the villagers. The gang pretended to be immigrants from Erzurum and looking for jobs in İzmit. While making propaganda, Black Fatma was also trying to persuade young men to join her gang.

One of the men that Black Fatma met in İzmit is Murat Ağa of Gülbahçe Köyü. It is interesting to see the reaction of Murata Ağa after declaring their identity to him. After meeting Black Fatma, he says that the Turkish nation will never experience decline as long as it has such Turkish women and continues that from then on, he will consider Black Fatma as his sister.⁸⁶ His statements can be considered as an attempt to desexualize women as soldiers. However in this context it can be also argued to take it broader to encompass the desexualizing women in the public sphere in general. Women “comrades” are the sisters of men “comrades” which prohibits any sexual desire for them. This has important connotations about the understanding of sexuality itself. It can be argued that, in the conventional patriarchal thought, sex in itself is considered as an act of attack, unless men prove that they have a “pure” love for the woman, who also deserves to be their wife. Especially in the conditions of war, the sexual act is almost identical to a military attack, specifically for the women of the enemy nation. So this is a very critical issue for a woman who works in the army. She has to be defended from the men of the enemy nation, but also and at the same time, the army has to guarantee her that, no man of the troop will have any sexual desire for her. Black Fatma, while calling Murat Ağa as a courageous guy, also re-establishes or strengthens the definition of manhood for a man who has to control his emotional or sexual desire for any of his female “comrades”.

⁸⁶ Ibid. “...biz Mustafa Kemal’in çetesiyiz ve ben reisiyim diyince derhal Murat Ağa yerinden fırladı ve ellerime sarılarak bu memlekette senin gibi Türk kadınları oldukça Türk milleti zeval görmez ve görmeyecektir. Sen dünya ve ahiret kardaşım ol ve bana emret ne istiyorsan yapacağım demekle tam bir mertlik göstermiştir.” p.7.

With the help of Murat Ağa, the number of the members of Black Fatma's troops increased to 96. She set her headquarter in *Oğul Paşa* village, under the rule of Kara Emin, the head of the front. After fighting in this front, she moved to Halit Paşa's front in Geyve and with the order of Halit Paşa, she began to follow after draft resisters and banditries. Halit Paşa also increased the number of the members of her troop to 300.

As mentioned above, the situation about the draft resisters is a serious problem for the War of Independence and the irony of Black Fatma is that she is after them. A story that she tells about her meeting two draft resisters and banditries is interesting to study.⁸⁷ The story is again a story of bravery, but without blood. The story is again one of bravery of a young woman, how strong and "rational" can she be despite her fear. According to Fatma's story, a group of bandits entered her room in the middle of the night while she was sleeping. Despite her fear, Fatma made rational calculations in just a few seconds and depicts a very strong female character against the bandits. The critical point is that these bandits decided to capitulate after seeing that it was a woman who fights for the nation and furthermore, it is a woman who runs after them to take them into the army. They recognized that, the field of fighting, which is defined by manhood, had already been left to woman and more critically, it is a woman who reminded them of their duty as a man. When they saw Black Fatma, they were embarrassed by their position but more as men, than as Turks. Through the story, we also recognize that Black Fatma as an influential person in the war mechanism, in such

⁸⁷ Ibid. "Faaliyetimizin ikinci günü gecesi gecesi sabaha karşı birden bire uykumdan uyandırıldım, gözlerimi açınca karşımda adedini sonradan tespit edebildiğim 40 kişilik eşkiyanın reisleri Lima ve İbrahim başında olduğu halde birdenbire karşımda buldum.

Bu emrivaki beni bir hayli sarsmıştı. Fakat mukadder olan akibetin önüne durmak mümkün olamayacağını idrak ederek soğuk kanlılıkla:

'Siz kimsiniz ve müsaade alandan ne cesaretle odama girdiniz' şeklinde sert bir sual açtım. İçlerinden birisi sizinle görüşmek için geldik, cevabında bulundu.

Eşkiyaların reisi Limo ve İbrahim bana 'Sana bir ricaya geldik' dedikleri zaman biraz yüreğim ferahlamıştı ve kendilerine derhal oturunuz dedim ve oturdular.....

300 kişinin başında çete reisi olarak 'Şu kadınlığımla' vatan mücahidi sıfatı ile beni karşılarında görmeleri bunları çok muazzap etmiş olmalı ki (biz sana teslim olmaya geldik) cevabını verdiler ve ben de kendilerine şerefim üzerine vererek bu kırk eşkiya dahil olmak üzere onbeş gün zarfında kendi mıntıkamda bana dehaiyet edecek asker firarisi ve eşkiyaların hakkında Ankaradan af istihsal edeceğimi katıyetle ifade ederek derhal Atatürk'e bir telgraf çektim. İki saat zarfında bunlar hakkında telgrafiyyen af kararını temin etmek suretiyle bu havalide ne kadar asker firarisi ve eşkiya varsa tamamen dehalet etmelerini temin ettim."p.9

a way that she could save bandits of the region from punishment and was able to make them join the troops.

Another story that Black Fatma tells us in her biography was her rising up to the rank of lieutenantancy. In 1338, before the last attack of the War of Independence, while she was in Ankara for the flower festivity, she “wins” the rank of lieutenantancy, together with a silver cigarette case. In the festivity, there were high rank military officers and bureaucrats such as Atatürk, General Kazım Özalp (head of the Parliament), Hasan Bey (the deputy of Van), and also Aralof *yoldaş* (the Russian ambassador). During the festivity, a silver cigarette case had been put on auction and, it was bought by Atatürk. He wanted to give it as a present and asked the people around him who would deserve this. Aralof *yoldaş* suggested Black Fatma as the one who deserved that present and the group approved this suggestion by clapping their hands. However, Atatürk, knowing that Black Fatma was good at using guns, decided to give it to the one who becomes the winner of competition the shooting competition. Black Fatma joins the competition, becomes the winner and wins both the case and the rank.⁸⁸ One interesting point about the story is that Russian ambassador knew about Black Fatma. We, at the moment do not have any evidence about the foreign image of Black Fatma of the War of Independence.

Another point relates to the competition and Black Fatma’s actions. The passage can be read as Black Fatma’s continuously proving herself as a soldier. Though she was known for strength in marksmanship, she has to prove once more that she is really good. We can also learn from the passage that Black Fatma was one of the indispensable elements of the ritual organizations of the newly establishing Young Republic.

Black Fatma also tells other stories of braveness about her experience as a soldier.⁸⁹ She left her wage of lieutenantancy to Red Crescent and defined this as her last

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp.10-11.

⁸⁹ Ibid. “Altımdaki Ceylan ismindeki güzel talim ettirilmiş çok akıllı bir hayvandı, adeta bir piyade neferi gibi düşman mevziine sokulmakta fevkalade mahirdi. Afyon civarlarındaki Sürmeli Köyünde bulunan düşmana müfrezemle taaruz esnasında hayvanımla düşmanın mevziine sokulmak icap etti. Bu esnada düşman tarafından bir kement atılarak yakalanmıştım ve hayvan da şahlanarak bizim tarafa firar etmeğe

duty to her country.⁹⁰ The last passage of the book is is her motivation in writing the book.⁹¹ The reason sounds more like call for help rather than highlighting the bright pages of Turkish history.

In 1950, six years after she publishing her biography, *Kadın Gazetesi* (Woman Newspaper) published articles that are calling for financial help for Black Fatma. In the article that was written by Yekta Ragıp Önen with the title “Black Fatma waits for help”, the dilemma between Black Fatma’s charismatic position during the War of Independence and her current miserable economic position was drawn.⁹² After three

muvaaffak oldu. Ben de bu suretle düşmana esir olmuştum. Beni yakaladıkları zaman gözlerim bağlanarak kendi mevzilerinin iki saat gerisinde bir yere götürülmüştüm ve burada gözlerimdeki mendil çözüldü ve sürmeli köyünde kurmuş oldukları karargahlarında yarım saat istivcap edildim. Benden izahat almak için mütamadiyen sıkıştırıyorlardı, ben de verdiğim cevaplarda kaçamak cevaplar veriyordum. Bunları arzu ettikleri maksadı temin edemediler. Bunun üzerine başkumandanları olan Trikopisin yanına götürdüler ve beni görünce so derece hayretle ismimi tekrarladı ve biraz sonra hayret ettiğinin sebebini son sualinden anladım. Meğer bunlar Kara Fatmayı devasa birşey tahayyül ediyorlarmış ve ben de bunlara cevaben Anadolu’daki Kara Fatma’ların en kuvvetsizi benim demiştim ve bilahara beni yere kapadılar. Evvela başıma dört tane süngülü nöberçi diktiler, birkaç gün sonra bir kişiye indirilmişti ve bu nöbetçinin yanına bir misafir arkadaşı geldi, mütamadiyen şarap içiyorlardı, misafir olan arkadaşı kalktı gitti. Bu nöbetçi şarap içmeğe devam ediyordu. Herhalde çok içmiş olmalı kisabaha karşı sızdığını gördüm fakat bir türlü inanamıyordum. Bir iki yoklamadan sonra hakikaten sarhoş olduğuna kanaat getirmiştım ve belindeki kaşaturasını yavaşça çıkararak kafasına bütün kuvvetimle kasaturayı indirmiştim ve derhal öldü, hemen kafasını keserek kendi üzerindeki çantanın içine koydum ve çantayı yan tarafıma asdım, elindeki silahı alarak ortalık ağarmadan yola çıktım, bir hayli müşkülattan sonra kaçmağa muvaaffak oldum. Ve on dokuz gün sonra Sürmeli köyündeki ovada bulunan kıtamin başına geçtim. Bu muvaaffakiyetimden dolayı üstteğmenliğe terfi ettirildim.” Pp.12-13.

⁹⁰ Ibid. “Vatanın büyük kurtarıcısı Ebedi şefin layık olmadığım büyük iltifatı beni sn derece sevindirmişti. Esasen bütün emel ve arzum yapmış olduğum hizmetten hiçbir menfaat beklemiyordum. Bu itibarla taltif edilmiş olduğum rütbemin mukabilinde verilecek maaşımı Kızılaya terk etmekle son vatani görevimi yaptım.”p.14.

⁹¹ Ibid. “Muhterem Vatandaşlarım: Yurtdaşlarımın bana göstereceği yüksek alaka ve hamiyetlerine güvenerek pek müzdarip olarak yaşamakta olduğum gayrikabili tahammül bu acı günlerime nihayet verebilmek emeli ile ve bir hatıratımı neşretmek mecburiyetimde kaldığımı tessürle arzederim.” p.15.

⁹² “Kara Fatma yardım bekliyor: ... belinde kaması harbe giden erkeklerin önünde, sert adımlarla yürürken gördüğüm bu kadın senelerdir geçim sıkıntısı ve ızdırıp çekiyor. Hele son günlerdeki durumu pek acıklı!.. Üzerindeki her eşya şunun bunun ianesi. Yalnız, İstiklal madalyası kendisinin!.. Ve bununla öğünüyor.

weeks, another article again calling for financial help for Black Fatma is published.⁹³ And *Kadın Gazetesi* starts a campaign for providing financial support for Black Fatma.⁹⁴

The representation of Black Fatma, or more precisely, the need to represent Black Fatma as an idol of the nation as opposed to those men who did not want to join this holy war, is very much related to the representation of manhood in the processes of war. Contrary to the conventional historiography of the War of Independence, which rests on the idea that Turkish nation, as a whole joined the war with all their souls, draft resisters were one of the serious problems of the War. Thus it should be kept in mind that, one part of the audience that were called was those draft resisters who failed to be men by running away from fighting.

This issue can also be seen in *Türkün Ateşle İmtihani*⁹⁵ through the words of Halide Edip. Halide Edip, in her memorials, she herself as member of the army, gives

Şehir Meclisinin son toplantılarından birinde, bu şehir sakin olması itibariyle kendisine ayda ufak bir yardım yapılmasını teklif ettim. Meclis arkadaşlarım her ay XX lira kadar yardımı kabul ettiler. Ancak bu para Kara Fatma gibi, artık ömrünün son günlerine yaklaşmış bulunan, tam istirahatata muhtaç yaşlı bir kadını elbetteki tatmin edemez. Ben çalıştığım gazetede, hamiyetleri vatandaşları, Kara Fatma'ya yardıma çağırdım. Onlardan da bir ses çıkmadı. Şimdi müreffeh Türk kadınlarından, Kara Fatma'ya yardım ellerini uzatacak olanları arıyorum. Türk vatanının istiklale kavuşmasında hissesi bulunan Kara Fatma'ya yardım ediniz!" Yekta Ragıp Önen, *Kadın Gazetesi*, 27.3.1950.

⁹³ "Kara Fatma ve biz: 'Milletin tarihine mal olan kahramanları süründürmenin, onca sıkıntı ve ızdırap çektirmenin vebali çok büyüktür. Artık şu kapanası gözlerimizi, yalnız kör nefesimize ve yalnız sefil menfaatlerimize değil, biraz da etrafımıza çevirelim. Ancak bu suretledir ki kaybolan diğergamlık ruhumuz meydana çıkacak ve tam bir gönül rahatlığı içinde vazifelerimizi yapmış sayılacağız. Kahraman Kara Fatma'nın bugünkü sefil ve perişan durumu karşısında, milli vicdanın sesi bize bunu emretmektedir!.." Cemal Oğuz, *Kadın Gazetesi* 17.4.1950.

⁹⁴ Ibid. "Kara Fatma yardım bekliyor: Sayın yazar ve şehir meclisi üyesi Yekta Ragıp Önen'in bu başlık altında gazetemizde yayınlanan kadın kahraman Kara Fatma'ya ait yazısı üzerine birçok hamiyetli ve vatansever bayanlarımızdan yardım teklifi almaktayız. Gazetemiz makbuzlarıyla alınacak yardım parası için, gelecek sayımızdan itibaren bir hesap açıyoruz. Yardım edenlerin isimlerini ve verdiği para tutarını bu sütunlarda yayınlayacağız. Yapılacak yardımın ufak da olsa, değeri büyüktür. Zira Türk atasözü öğüdünü unutmayalım: Damlaya damlaya göl olur!"

⁹⁵ "Ben size bir başka kadın asker tanıtmak isterim. O kadın ulaştırma işlerinin başındaki Fatma Çavuş'tur." Bunu söylerken geriye çekilmiş bir kadını gösteriyordu....

details about the battlefield in Anatolia. One of the events that she tells is about a woman called Fatma Çavuş. The commander of the camp in which Halide Edip stayed, introduced her to a woman called Fatma Çavuş. He told Halide Edip that he also introduced this woman to a journalist for photographing her with a gun on her shoulder. Halide Edip thought that the commander was introducing Fatma Çavuş to her since he wanted Halide Edip to write a story about this soldier woman. When the commander left, Fatma *Nine*, as Halide Edip called her, sat in a chair in a desperate mood and started complaining. She told Halide Edip how she had been afraid of guns, though she liked the soldiers. She said that she would love to serve these soldiers, however she did not understand the reason that they are taking photos of her with gun in the shoulder. She also stated that she was afraid of the commander. Halide Edip asked her whether they treated her badly or not and her reply was negative; however, she told that she was afraid of the man who beat draft resisters. She said that she was really sorry for those draft resisters since they were beaten really harshly. In the end of the talk, Fatma *Nine* confessed that she did not like that battlefield full of blood and that the only reason that she had been there was for the soldiers and her blind son.

This passage in *Türkün Ateşle İmtihanı* is very critical as a challenge to the discourse of the War of Independence which promotes the idea that “the nation” as a whole joined in the defense of their country and women, even as soldiers, were also a part of this entirety of a singular nation fighting as a united front. In addition “the problem” of draft resisters, the passage highlights how the discourse of *Black Fatma(s)* as the courageous strong Turkish women was promoted as a social engineering process.

Yetmiş yaşlarında, uzun boylu, kır saçlı, fakat güçlü kuvvetli bir kadındı. Arkası dimdik. Yüzündeki çizgiler yaştan çok, acı çekmiş olmasından ileri geliyordu. Komutan dedi ki: ‘Bu sabah buradan iki gazeteci geçti. Fatma Çavuş’un omzunda tüfekle resmini aldirttim. Bir bakınız.’ Anladığıma göre, komutan, benim bu konu üzerine yazı yazmamı istiyordu.onbaşı.. çadırdan çıktı... Fatma Nine bir sandalyeye oturarak başını ellerinin içine aldı. Dedi ki: ‘Ah, evladım, tüfekten ödüm patlar. Elimi dokunsam yüreğim titrer. Askerleri seviyorum. Onlara hizmet edeceğim. Ama, benim tüfekli resmimi niçin alıyorlar? Komutan konuşurken dizlerim titriyor.’... ‘Sana sert mi davranıyor mu, Nine?’... ‘Hayır, hayır. Fakat her geçene beni gösteriyor. Komutanın muavini beyaz sakallı adamdan da korkuyorum. Kamçısını öyle bir sallıyor ki; kaçakları çok fena dövüyorlar. Zavallı yavrucaklar. İçim kan ağlıyor. Ne olur güzellikle yapsalar. Acaba Söğüt’ten ne zaman çekileceğiz? Burada korkudan başka birşey yok. Bunu askerlerim ve kör yavrum için çekiyorum.’”Halide Edip, *Türkün Ateşle İmtihanı* , İstnabul, Atlas Kitabevi, 1994, p.207.

5.3. Conclusion

During the War of Independence, discourse on Black Fatma was speaking both to men and women. She came to represent the end of resources of the war conditions: “even” women had to fight. While the nation was using all its resources to the end, while all the members of the nation were fighting against the enemy, draft resisters were the disgraceful members of the nation and of men. Fighting was the duty of men, it was a part of manhood and these draft resisters were disloyal both to their national and sexual identity by refusing to fight. They were leaving their place to women, who were supposed to be helping warrior men, not to be taking their place as fighters themselves. They were supposed to be ashamed of their position of betraying their brothers.

After the War, as was in the case of Sabiha Gökçen⁹⁶, the phenomenon of female soldiers, was also used as a sign of modernity, of development for women and as a sign of change. The image has also contributed to the close connection between nation and army that was tried to be established. However, it should be noted that, Black Fatma, was not a role-model for “all” Turkish woman. The “stories” that were told about her were always in the extremes: she was very good in firing, or she could save captives from the enemy... She was an exception in that sense. These stories were for heroines, not for the average women who desired to join the army. The *Black Fatma* genre of the Republican Period differed in that sense from the genre of *Elifs*, who were “ordinary” women “helping” their men fighting in the fronts.

Also, Black Fatma was not an alternative to the “mothers” of the nation. The role that was promoted for women by the Republican ideology, because independent of the occupation that they chose (teachers, doctors, or lawyers for example) they were mothers before all these occupation. Black Fatma was not an exception in that sense either. As was discussed above through the article in *Yeni İnci*, her sexual identity was defined always through the motherhood. She was together with her brother in the

⁹⁶ Ayşe Gül Altınay. "Ordu-Millet-Kadınlar: Dünyanın İlk Kadın Savaş Pilotu Sabiha Gökçen." In *Vatan Millet Kadınlar*, edited by Ayşe Gül Altınay, 246-80. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000.

battlefield. She was not an independent woman, but rather a strong woman who was 'protecting' her 'children'.

6. CONCLUSION

With reference to the documents that could be located within the scope of this thesis, we could talk of a genre of *Black Fatma(s)* in the Ottoman and Republican history. And this genre is established upon real characters of warrior women.

In 1806 Black Fatma was a Kurdish woman who was the head of a thief gang. She was married to a tribal chief and her tribe was one of the disloyal tribes. For the Ottoman State, Black Fatma was representing the evil character of tribes with whom the State had problems. In the Crimean War, Black Fatma was a Muslim Kurdish ally of the state. Again a Kurdish woman tribal chief, however, in such critical war conditions, she was a hero who devoted her life and wealth to the Sultanate for the protecting Islam. Same Black Fatma have also attracted the attention the West as an unveiled Eastern woman warrior and she have constituted the Oriental subject of the Western press for the Western audience.

For the feminists of 1910s, Black Fatma of the Russian-Ottoman War of 1877-1878, was representing the “modern” woman who succeeds to prove that women could be successful subjects in the public life, in the world of men. Black Fatma was the heroine of the Ottoman feminists, especially just after the Balkan Wars, when being a soldier and defending the nation was the highest source of prestige.

Black Fatma of the War of Independence is a Turkish Muslim woman, who is fighting both against the enemies and against the draft resisters. She represents, ironically enough, both the power and weakness of the Turkish nation. She represents power, in the sense that, she is a strong courageous woman who directly participates in warfare. The image that is drawn is that, even the women of Turkish nation are capable of fighting and her ability of fighting is quite above the ability of an average male soldier. On the other hand, as woman who follows and arrests draft resisters, the message that she is sending is that, Turkish nation, in this War of Independence, using all its resources to limits. Even women have to fight, while “some men” (draft resisters) is running away betraying their national and sexual identity.

Thus, during the Late Ottoman Period and Early Republican Era, Black Fatma(s) were subject to the representation of different discourses of different political and social contexts. As mentioned in the introduction, there are also different discourses on Black

Fatma in the current political agenda of Turkey. Different discourses of different political positioning reconstruct different Black Fatma(s) depending on their social projects. The last popular image of Kara Fatma has appeared in a cartoon strip series called “Women Heroines of the War of Independence”.

Every volume of the series is about the adventures of a woman heroine of the War: Nene Hatun from Erzurum, Kara Fatma from Van, Onbaşı Nezahat who had the first medallion of the Independence, the Eagle of Toros Kılavuz Hatice, and Erkek Halime from Kastamonu. As can be followed from the titles, these heroines are geographically distributed to different regions of Turkey. So, women, from every part of Turkey joins the War of Independence, as men from different regions have already done the same:

Twelve year old **Corporal Nezahat** who fought in the fronts, while she was supposed to be playing with her toys, **Nene Hatun** who fought for her honor leaving her small baby in the cradle, **Halime(s)** who disguised as a man and fought saying that it was also the duty of women to protect their homeland and their honor, **Hatice(s)** who did what men could not do by using their intelligence, **Kara Fatma(s)**, and those thousands who said “My name is Anatolia”, our nameless heroine mothers, grandmothers... who covered munitions that they carried with the blankets that had covered their children in the cold weather of minus thirty-forty degrees..⁹⁷

The argument made by the publishers of these series is that, these cartoon strips are based on real stories of Turkish history. It could be a valuable exercise to focus on every issue to look at the gap between what is historically documented and what is written. The gap would give more details about the process of reconstruction of Turkish nationalism through popular means, such as comic strips in the social and political context of Turkey in 2000s. For example, taking into consideration the story of Kara

⁹⁷ “Oyuncaklarıyla oynaması gerekirken, cephe de savaşı on iki yaşındaki **Onbaşı Nezahat**, kundaktaki bebeğini beşiğe koyup onurunu korumak için savaşı **Nene Hatun**, vatanını şerefini korumak sadece erkeklerin değil, bizim de görevimiz deyip, erkek kılığına girerek savaşı **Halime’ler**, aklını kullanarak erkeklerin yapamadığını yapan **Hatice’ler**, **Kara Fatma’lar** ve daha binlerce “Benim Adım Anadolu!” diyen, eksi otuz-kırk derece soğukta, çocuğunun üzerindeki battaniyeyi taşıdıkları cephanenin üzerine örten adsız kahraman annelerimiz, ninelerimiz.” *Vanlı Kahraman Kara Fatma*, Türk Tarihi Gerçek Öyküler Çizgi Roman Dizisi, Kurtuluş Savaşı Kadın Kahramanlar, İstanbul: Mavi Medya, August 2006, p.2.

Fatma, as far as the sources that are focused in this thesis is concerned; Kara Fatma was not from Van, rather from Erzurum. The reason of this misleading might be the sharing of the regions of Turkey. Erzurum was already reserved for Nene Hatun, thus Van would be more appropriate for Kara Fatma. Another point was about the enemies that Kara Fatma is fighting against in the cartoon strip. In almost all volumes of the series, there is a stress on Armenians as the enemy of Turks. In her memoirs, Fatma Seher (Kara Fatma) does not make any specific stress on her fight against Armenians. This emphasis on Armenian enemies is related to the current political agenda of Turkish nationalism of “the Armenian issue”. However, in the cartoon strip of Kara Fatma, there is no reference to fascinating stories that Fatma Seher writes in her memoirs about draft resisters. Absence of the stories of draft resisters is critical in the sense that, it demonstrates the issues that current Turkish nationalist project excludes.

Another very critical gap between the stories that is told in the comic strips and the life stories of these heroines is in the story of Erkek Halime. In the comic strip, femaleness of Halime, before she joins the war, is highly stressed, especially with the help of the drawings. She is represented as a “real” woman, who preferred, or even forced herself, to become a man, just to join the war. This process of becoming a man also includes daily practices like shaving everyday and behaving like a man in war conditions. However she also continues to behave like a man also after the war. On the other hand, according to the comic strip, she got married after she returns from the war and she got children. Nevertheless, according to an interview⁹⁸ made with her step granddaughter, Halime never gets married; she does not have her own children, she has adopted the child of her brother. This is a critical point in the sense that, it shows the limits of Turkish nationalism in terms of sexual politics and its heterosexist characteristic. Contemporary Turkish nationalism, or the kind of Turkish nationalism that is promoted in the cartoon strips, promotes women warriors who competes with men, not the ones who dares to “be” men. As apparent in Halime’s story, it is totally intolerant to “those” who have “blurred” sexual identities. This is where Turkish nationalism draws the border: *Erkek Halime* (Male Halime) can be a heroine, as far as she can prove that she is a “complete woman”. She can have all the abilities that a man should have only in the conditions of war. What makes her story more radical is her

⁹⁸ “Kurtuluş Savaşının Elifleri,” 30 *Ağustos Özel Sayısı*, *Milliyet*, 30.8.2003

maleness in the appearance and the solution to moderate this radical view is to end the story with a marriage with children, which is contrary to the real life story of Halime.

Every social project also has its own gender policy. Black Fatma(s), also in the current social and political context of Turkey, seems to be a field of war of discourses of different social projects of Islamists, Kemalists, radical Leftists and Kurdish movement. The gap between “reality” and “myth” about Black Fatma(s), increases or decreases depending on the context and on the need of these projects. The potential of feminist theory and feminist historiography to challenge mainstream historiography lies in their success to use gender as an analytical category⁹⁹ to highlight that gap and to analyse the need of constructing such a gap. As could be followed through the genre of *Black Fatma(s)*, the relation between gender and war is a complex one and can get various shapes depending on time and context. Focusing on this relation in specific time and context, underlines not only women’s positioning against the army, but also opens paths to see wider structures and discourses on nationalism, militarism, citizenship, and gender and historical change in these structures and discourses.

It is difficult to make an overall argument about the conditions that made possible Black Fatma(s) to be warriors. Especially for the Black Fatma of 1806 and 1854, there is a need of structural and cultural analysis of tribal life. The position of Black Fatma as a tribe leader, as a steward and as a warrior is a big challenge to the conventional understanding of gender division of labour and gender division of power. So, this kind of research would highlight different gender systems within the Ottoman context and more over, raise new questions about the relation between war and gender.

However, with reference to discourses that are reproduced for Black Fatma(s), it might be possible to argue that is the space opened for them and the language used for them is shaped by patriarchal, nationalist and militarist discourses. Women are allowed to be soldiers as long as they accept the patriarchal, militarist and nationalist structures of the armies. Leaving aside the argument about the “natural” characteristics of men and women and following the argument that armies are structurally national, militarist and patriarchal constructions, it can be argued that women “can be” allowed to be soldiers,

⁹⁹ Scott, Joan. “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis.” *The American Historical Review* 91(5), 1986. Pp.1053-1075.

if they do not challenge these structural characteristics. So, the discussion on whether women “can” become soldiers or not might be transferred as whether “femininity” (not in a natural but in a cultural sense) or more radically “feminism” “can” get into the army or not. And, at least with reference to Black Fatma(s), there occurs a question to be asked: Would Black Fatma(s) be allowed to get into the army without transferring themselves to Erkek Fatma(s)?

APPENDIX I

KARA FATMA OF THE CRIMEAN WAR



KARA FATMA OF THE CRIMEAN WAR

(www.sihirlitur.com/.../kartpostallar/foto1.html)

APPENDIX II
KARA FATMA OF THE CRIMEAN WAR
(*Illustrated London News*, April 22, 1854)
(courtesy of MetinKunt)



APPENDIX III

H.M., "Kahraman Bir Mücahidemiz: Fatma Hanım", *Yeni İnci* July 2, 1338.

صفحه ۹

انجمن

نومرو ۲

قهرمان بر مجاهده من:

فاطمه خانم

بوداكار والده ، تورك ماديت يالكر
قورمانلر شيريكه فالاديغي و اينجاب
ايدوسه بر ديشي آردلان كهي بالذات
يوردني مدافعه ايدم بيله جكتي ده

اثبات ايله مشدور .

مجاهده فاطمه خانم

صوك كورد (آغره) زغانر واولردن
غلام استابول مطوعاني يره مان تورك مجاهده
سندن نعت ايديدور . بو مجاهده اضر و ملي
فاطمه سرحانم . اليوم آغرمده بولوغده
اولان فاطمه سرحانم متعدد مجازله اشتراك
اقتن بارالانن . بالمعه (ازميت) جهمنده
اركتكردن ده جبارله بر ديشي آردلان كهي
جاريشيدور . فاطمه سرحانم (ازميت) ده
ايكن اورياه بر سياحت اجرا اغن اولان توحيد
امكاره بر هرر و فوطوغراف مجازله كورد .
شمشي مجازك اساساتي ايله فوطوغرافيك
بو سياحت اشنده آديبي دسردن فاطمه سرحان
خاتمه عالم اولان بر ايي داعسي درج ايديدور .

قهرمان فاطمه

اوردن كين ديش ازميتده كورد . ده نوزده
اولان بوله بر سلاح اوسردن آغامي مشكوره
ساريلي . بلده اوزون غلاني و طاحمه سيله داخل
بريكت يافتده بر آناطولي غارن ، ايكن ده
كوزولوكمه ، اسانه اولان درن بر حيت حسي
كايور . صوكرا بو حيت . اواش يواش بر
قهرمان غلريشيدور . دويولان حرمت و تنظيم
حسربه غلريشيدور و اسان ، نه بويوك بر ملك
اولادي اولديغي اوقت ، غرور و افتخارله ،
دويويور . بكا مرقت غرورن دويوران مجاهده
قارن ، فاطمه اسنده بر اضر ورم فريدور . بر
فاطمه تان روحندن بكون ناسل مرقت داسنا لرد
سويون قهرمانلي طاحه اچن ، كيم اومار ،
حال بوكه ، (فاطمه) لك اسن ازميتده غلريده
اوردوده و جهلده مردلكر لك بويوك شايه
سويو غلريشيدور . (ازميت) لكده
سند راست كايور كز ، بو قيصه بويي ، كيكلي
و كزني بيلي ، باشندن اوردوسك ساچلاري
اوموزلر نه ساريلش اضر ورم بيزيك ناسل كوموش
سايي قايچيسي سالاديغي و بوزويونده ك قهرمانه
بواسك ناسل قاي ايلانده دوش بوتون شالي
شكايه لردن ده . روز اولديغي كورده جكتي
ككچي غلنري آئنده . بايز بليشيري وارده ،
بالذات قهرمانلي بو بايتلرك اوكنده كوچونور .

مليته ك بدايته خائنه ترورانه قايلاق استقلال
مجاهدنه اشتراك ائلك ايسته من صافا اسانلري
زده كوردنه مارلامش ، اولره بو مجاهده ك
غلونن . بر قاريك دعي اشتراك ائتش اولاسيله
فلا ائات ايله من ميني ده بوتون مجازله
اكنده كازانه بر صورتده و كوشمكه سري ائتشور .
(ازميت) جهمنده (۲۹) آغرمده
دشمنك (بركت و فريدور) ده بايدي شرمي ،
فاطمه بوسكوردن . ۷ ايل و ده (ازميت) ده
بر دشمن تعرضه قارش قهرمانله برلكنده عرب
ايدي ، كوككك صاع طرفه صالان بر صرمي
بو مجاهده ك سيشي قان ائتمده بير ادي . فقط
قهرمان فاطمه ، كوككك قاريله دشمن اوزرته
يورودي . فاطمه تان بوتون وجودي دشمن
غوروشونريك و شرابيل مسكنلريك خاطر ميله
دولودور . هيچ بر صرمي سانكه تولوي بوجيدور
مجاهدنه كتوبودنه كترمه دي . اوكن (انتقام)

فاطمه خانم و اولادلي

مابورنه كوكلو كين اولي نه بويوك بر شاك
واريدور و عيني مابورده كوكلو اولان قارده شي ،
نه بويوك بر شاك كاديكي ايلدن كشدور ! فاطمه
شيمدي ازميت فرازكاه قوماندانيدور .
آغرمه كيش اولاسي ، بو قهرمان قارنه ،
آغرمه بر سلام اعظم ايجون زده شورا قنده بر
فرست و يورور . بوليه ، بولوك جسور منغلري
اسلائي ، نه آخاندن بيله قهرمانل يزانان بر
ملي نجيل و تحيد ائلك ممكن دكدر . چونكه
بو مشك مجملري اوقدر خارقل و بويوك
ديش غلوني اوقدر ايريشلر بر معجزه در !

سكز ترمه ،
بن ايسته بيله شالي بر اضر ورم آغامي
و غلنريك اكنه رمانلي مائيد . بو مجاز و عسكر
قارن ، كوردن كم زمان فرق بن ائتمده واردي .
فقط پاش بيله بو قاريك بولنده كوردن
سانكه اوزكشدور . حالا درجيدور و ده جوي
دشمن پاشي بيجكدر . اضر ورمي يوسف آغا
اسنده بريكتي قيزي اولان (فاطمه سرحان)
قوجلي بيكايي درويش لك وقت ايدكجه ،
متاركدن صوكرا ادرنده (ازميت) دن
ملكته بيكشي ، فشنكككشري بلده دولامش ،
ميرمه لري آلفه كچيرمش و مابوزري اوموزيه
آساري ، آغرمه قاريله لردنه قهرمانل آرمه
چيقتدور اوكنه مجزوي غري ، بوندن صوكرا ،
قهرمانلي مابوزريك اويته اسن ائدي .
فاطمه ، بر چوي مجازله اشتراك ايدن
فطمه سني بالذات كنه شي تشكيل ائتشور . مجاهده

APPENDIX IV
BİNBAŞI AYŞE MÜLAZİM, KARA FATMA, ÇAVUŞ PENBE HANIM

Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi



BİNBAŞI AYŞE MÜLAZİM, KARA FATMA, ÇAVUŞ PENBE HANIM

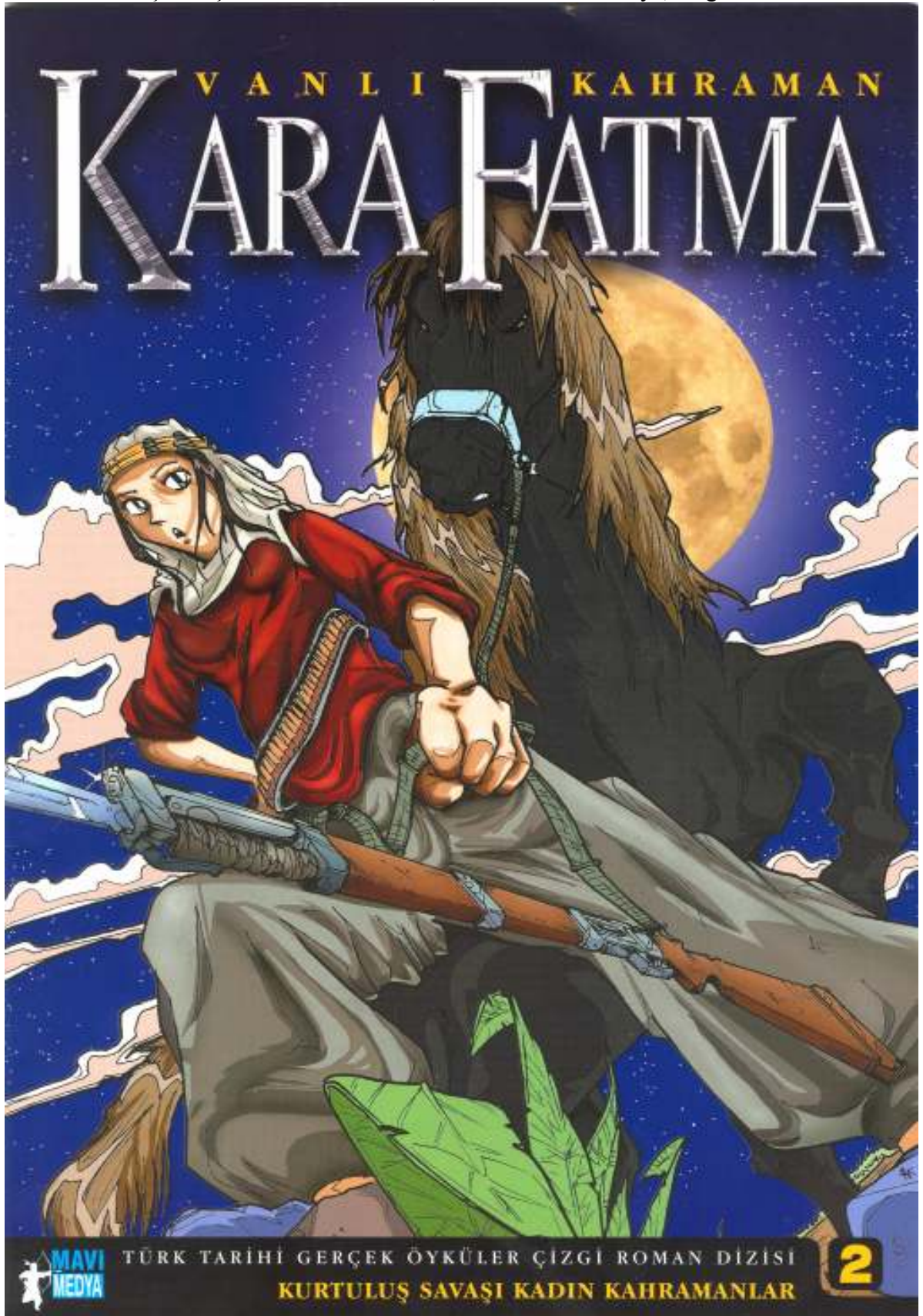
Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi



APPENDIX VI

BLACK FATMA OF THE WAR OF INDEPENCE

Vanlı Kahraman Kara Fatma, Türk Tarihi Gerçek Öyküler Çizgi Roman Dizisi,
Kurtuluş Savaşı Kadın Kahramanlar, İstanbul: Mavi Medya, August 2006.



APPENDIX VII

ERKEK HALİME

Vanlı Kahraman Kara Fatma, Türk Tarihi Gerçek Öyküler Çizgi Roman Dizisi, Kurtuluş Savaşı Kadın Kahramanlar, İstanbul: Mavi Medya, August 2006.



APPENDIX VIII

“Kurtuluş Savaşının Elifleri,” 30 Ağustos Özel Sayısı, Milliyet, 30.8.2003

KURTULUŞ SAVAŞI'NIN ELİFLERİ 7

■ Ne kadar oldu ölü?!

Öldüğünde 75 yaşında vardı. 25 yıl ölü.

■ Kurtuluş Savaşı'na niye katılmış, nasıl asker olmuş?

Şimdi ben onun kendi ağzından dinledim. “İsteyenler, gönüllüler savaşa katıldım”, demişler. O zaman genç kadın sokaks çıkamıyor, bu kalkınca, savaşa girmiş. Öyle cesaretiymiş, erkek gibiymiş. “Ben”, demiş, “savaşa gideceğim.” Annesi babası “kızım gitme” diye yalvarmışlar. O zamanlar 20’li yaşlarında. Kimseyi düşünmemiş, erkek kalına girmiş, çıkmış, gitmiş. Diğer erkeklerle birlikte yola koyulmuş. Mühimmat taşımada birçok görev yapmış. Rus askerinin bombardıman ateşinde aynısına bir parça gelmiş. O yüzden aynısının bir sakat kalması. Yaralılarınca yarındaki askere, “İlim de böyle mi oluyormuş be”, demiş. Bunu anlatır, ağlardı. Okullarla, kağıtlarla taşıyorlarmış mühimmatları. İnşabu’dan biraya cephaşe taşıyorlar. Yoldu bu Atatürk’e rast geliyor.

■ Öyle mi?

Tahii, Atatürk olduğunu bilmiyor o zaman. Atatürk, “Sen ösünmüyor musun böyle”, der. “Bey, 100 bin kişi kurtulacak. Ben öleceğim de ne olacak”, der. Bizimki de. O zaman Atatürk kafa kağıdını ister Halime’den. Vessir, “Sen kız mısın” diye sorar Atatürk. “Evet” der o da. Savaş bitince parı, onu karakoldan isterler. “Atatürk, Halime Kocabıyık’ı istiyor” deyince askerler, annesi babası korkar. “Atatürk yavruma kesecek” derler. “Öcme” derler. Halime “gidiyorum” desip Ankara’ya gidiyor.

Anlatında, “hangisi Atatürk Paşa, bilmiyorum” demiş yavere. O zaman bir televizyon neyin yok ki. Yavere “södüki Atatürk” demiş. Hemen elini öpmüş. Atatürk “seni yollamıyorum, burada ye iç, gez tuz, bizim kocamız ol” diyor. “Sana buradan ev, her bir şeyin birer tüt” diyor. 15 gün kalması bu. Ama sonra demiş “ben kaçacağım”. “Niçin kaçacaksın” demişler. “Annem babam beni bekliyor”, demiş o da. Görevliler Atatürk’e söylüyor. Atatürk, “ben anaya babaya itaatli evlada saygı duyurum” deyince dönüyor. Eve dönünce ortalık bayrama dönmüş. Atatürk’ün verdiği hediyeleri almışlar, yemişler içmişler. Maas bağlanmış. O maasıyla bizi de yaşattı rahat. Biz de bakır maasıyla. Hâli da bekliyor Allah razı olsun.

■ Atatürk’ten söz eder miydi hep?

Ne zaman Atatürk’ü, savaş günlerini anlaşı ağlardı. Hep duygulanırdı. Ekmek bulamamışlar. Artık abartıyor muydu bilmem. “hayvanların toprakta ayak izlerinde su birikirdi, onları içerdik” diye anlatırdı. Açlıktan kuru ekmeği iletir yerlermiş.

■ Fotoğraflarına baktığında Halime Çavuş’un kadın olduğunu anlamak güç gerçekten. Nasıl erkek kalına girdiğini anlatmış mıydı size?

Savaş yıllarında kadın cübbü anlaşılmaz, rahat etmiş diye erkek gibi giyilmiş, gizlenmiş. Savaşın sonra da hiç kadın gibi görünmedi. Yine aynı öyle asker gibi durdu. Hep sorardık. Kadın gibi değildi. Yüzünü tıraş ederdi her gün. Sakalları çıkardı. Özenti vardı. Kafası devamlı erkek



gibi sıra vurulmuş geçerdi. Kaçardı herkes, kadın demezdi. Kendini erkek hissetmiş askere gidince. Öyle derdi. Kadınlığa bir daha dönemedi ki. Her oğansını kadın, ama kendini erkek gibi hissediyordu. Herhalde ondan evlenmedi. Döndükten sonra da erkek kıyafeti giydi. Erkek gibi yürüdü. Tavırları da öyleydi. Ağzında sigarası kahveye giderdi hep. Körde de kahul etiler onu öyle.

■ Sizi de başka yakını yok mu Halime Çavuş’un?

Dedim ya, erkek gibiydi onun için de evlenmedi. “Benim param var. Atatürk maasımı vermiş. Niye evleneyim” derdi. Biz hep sorardık, “niye evlenmedi” diye. “Evlilik de ne ki?” derdi. Çolukları çocukları, kalmış benim kocama, yanı kızı kızımdım nglunu evlat edinmiş. Ben de gelin geldim, 25 yıl hakım ona. Ziyaretine ne çok askerler, yabancıl devlet başkanları iste bu yaşadığını eve gelirlerdi. Gelmedik kimse kalmadı ziyarete. Cesazesini görevlektiniz. Herkes vardı. Her bayramda anırdı. Hiçbir zaman pişman olmada bu ülke için savaşmaktan. “Zevk için mi verdiler bu parayı bana. Yaralandık, kazandık bu buse” derdi. Hayatından çok memnundu. Sigarasını, içkisini içti, kahveye giderdi. Sigarayı çok içti. Devamlı öksürdü. Gençliğinde de içermiş.

■ Niye ölüdü peki?

Yaşlıktan. Diyelim güldü üç sene. Sonra öldü. Biz de böyle kaldık üç kadın.



APPENDIX IX

Ösmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı

05961/803 H. 1

مستند الاوله اليه ميلم بولكو ساعته وديتحت غرقه اعلاه كلش الرضه فقا كرمه وديتحت قوتين باينه شوكه تا ورايهم فوئولم
 ادره جوبه خبره اسمهم فاه فاهي ادره هكولس وافر اولاه صده خسته ملافاة اعصبي امر و ظاهره هله ففنه شوكه
 عطله فند ادرهم حفره

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APPENDIX X

طیارین نیکو ترین قومند اولی شریفید که
 به نام جبار و اولی خردمند و ثانی است
 صفی بنی و جبار و

[illegible]

HAT 102/4044-C

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HAT. 0102

A horizontal ruler with markings from 0 to 10. The markings are evenly spaced and labeled with numbers. The ruler is positioned at the top of the page.

فن وقادینلق

انسان بالذات خارجی تأثیراته قارشى ضعيفدور، اونلرک استعمال ايدمه چک هيچ برقوتلری يوقدر .
براورمانده بولنديکى آسور ايدىکنز . اورادده برچوق وحشى حيوانلر اولسون . او وحشى حيوانلر اوزريکزه هجوم ايتسه . سزده وجوبديکدن يشقه هيچ برشيه مالک اولماسکيز . اولنره نه ايله مقاومت ايدريکيز . هيچ برشي ايله مقاومت ايدمه سکرز .. اولوزسکرز دگلي ؟ . سزبونک کي برچوق مثالز بولکيز . بويه موقلمده انسانلر حياتلری قورتارمق ايچون بر آلت مدافعه مالکيدر ؟ دکدر . ايسته بوندن طولاي انسانلر حياتلری بويه ندهش تأثيراتدن قايه اچک ايچون بر طاقم آلات وجوده کتيرمک ايچون برچوبريت قطيه حس ايتشلردر . دها بر مثال سويليم . لوندده بتون قاربقرلرک ماکنلرک ، اورايه کيدن کن واپورلرک . شندفرلرک والحاصل فنک قالدینى فرض ايدىکنز .
بردينره او بش آلفى مليونلق خلق ايچنده بر هرج ومرج حصوله کليز .. آجاق بتون شدتيله حکمفرما اولنه باشلار . بيه چک ايچمچک برشي بولمازلر . هيسى اولورلر دگلي ؟ .
اوحالده بوراده بولنرى يشاتان نهدر . بالطبع قدر ايتيه بودبوکي احتياجات ؟ فن احدات ايتشدر . اگر فن اولمازه حياتده اولماز . حکومتلرده بوني پک کوزل کوزيوز . قوتلى حکومتلر قوتسز حکومتلر ازيوز .
بوراده دقت ايدىکنز . حکومت قوتى عييا نهدر ؟ . هيچ شهبه بوقه قدر . ديمک بر ملتده فن اولماسه اولملک يشامسى ممکن اولميدور . بورادن صريح بر نتيجه چيقاريريز .
اورده : فن کيمده ايسه قوت اوندهدر ، غالب کليز ويشار . فن کيمده يوقسه اونده قوت يوقدر ، مغلوب اولور ، ويشاياماز ، پاخود سقائله يشار .

قاديئلره ارککلرک حياتلری تدقيق ايدم . ارککلر حردر ، بتون ارککلر حردر ، بتون حقلرينه مالکدور .
قاديئلره اسيرد ، بتون حقلرندن محرومدر . ارککلر مسعود يشارلر ، ويشامق ايچون واسطه لره مالکدور .
فقط قاديئلر مسعود دکددرلر ، مسعود يشامق ايچون واسطه لردن محرومدرلر .
ارککلر قوته مالکدورلر . قاديئلر هيچ برقوته مالک دکددرلر . اونک ايچون قاديئلر مغلوب اولورلر وازيليرلر ..
دگلي ؟ عييا بودرلو حيات نهدن اولمش ونهدن اوليور . بوني بيليليريز .
همشيره لرم امين اولکيزکه بوراده بتون سبب قدر . اوت ارککلرک قوته مالک اولمش قه مالک اولمسندن ، قاديئلرک قوته مالک اولماسى . قه مالک اولماسيندندر . آسرقاده ، انکلتزه ده الخ .. برلرده قاديئلرک حقلرين ايتسه مک خصوصنده کوسرتکدرى حرکتلره سبب اولان ، واسطه اولان ينه فندر .
تدقيق ايدىکنز .. اونلر اولدبقه فن ايتشلر ، متعدد صنايعه سلوک ايتشلر ، والحاصل ايچيه بر قوته مالک اولشلردر .
دها بر طاقم سبيلر ، واسطه لر وارسده مک مهم سبب قدر . دنياده هرئى قوتله اوليور . حالبوکه قوتى ورمه چک فند . يشقه واسطه يوقدر .
شمى يز بر انقلاب يايق اسارتدن ، سفليندن قورتلق ايتيوز . فقط ارککلر متحکمسدر ، متلايدر . اين اوله لم که بزم هر حکتمز قارشى مخالفت ايدمچکلر ، حقلريزي ورمه چکلردر . يز يالکيز باغيرمق ، چاغيرمق فرياد ايتمهک هيچ بر شي ياپاميز ..

ارککلر مرسته کاوب قطعيا حقلريزي ورمزلر . ايتيه دکارييز نه قدر حقل ، نه قدر محتاق اولورسه اولسون قابل دکل ديتکه مزلر . بسارقلک ميدره بيوکردن . برينسک بيوک بر سوزى وار : « بيوک بر . ديپلوماتک آرقمسنده بيکلرجه ، ميلونلرجه سونکو پارلامازسه سويلديکي بوشدر . »
بو حقيقتى هر زمان طالعده کورديوزدکاي ؟ . بزده آقهمدمسونکولرى حاضرلامالىز .. بزه کوره بوسونکولر قدر . بونک ايچون جان قه صولدرجه چالشم .. چونکه بزي قورتارمق اودر . واقعا شمى متعدد فنلری تحصيل ايچون بزه هيچ بر درسخانه آچلماش .. اوکر تک مشکل ... فقط محترم همشيره لره برشي سويليمکيم .. شمى کنديلری فنک هيچ اولمازه مباديسنه چاليشونلر .. تنک مباديسى اولدبقه قولايدير . واکره نيلاهيلير . اوکر مشکلاته دوجار اولتور ايسه چييتيز مرأجت ايدلسون . مشکلاتى ازاله ايديلير . شمى هممچال بوسورتله حاضر لائيلدر .
بالاخيره درسخانه لره آچيله چقدر . فنک بتون شعباته کيريله چکدر . فقط امين اولکيزکه يز ياپه چيز . کيمه ورمز .
حتي محترم همشيره لرم ايتسرلره فن تحصيل آرزو ايدنلر سوبلانه لم . چييتيه تخصيص ايديله چک برمحله چاليشم . اوليه اميد ايدمکيه که چييت محترمه بوفکرى قبول ايدرلر . بونکله برابر دنيازمدهده فن بر صفحه کشاد ايديلير . همشيره لرم فن واديسندهده على قدر الامکان تشويه چالشمچم . اميد ايدرمک همشيره لرم نى يالکيز برافازلر . اونلرده ياردم ايدرلر .
نسيه مکر

قارا فاطمه

عائلى قاديئلنده جوهر حیات
قاره فاطمه ادعاهمه قاره دکل پارلاق ، درخشان بر دللدر .
قارا فاطمه کزدور . ملاطيه سنجايى ملحقاتندن آلا طاعلدر .
وآلاطاف کرد بکلرندن رينک اصل ، نجيب نيزى در . رسيدن آکلاک شلدينى اوزره ضيف ، اورته بويلو اولوب رنک اسمر کوزلرى وقاشلری سياهدر . ايليسى ارکک ايليسلرينک عيى در .
انتارى برينه کنيش بر شالوار چاکت برينه ايسه (سارق) تعمير اولتان بر نوع چيکن کيديدى سسى ارکک سى کي کور وسرتردى .
يوزى اصلا ستر ايتز آتقى صاجلري يوينى والحاصل باشنک يوزندن ماعدا يوتون اقبامى (لهجه ل) تعمير اولتان بياش بر بزه قات ، قات صارارق کتر ايدردى . حريده ايسه رسنده کورولديکي اوزره اورتونوردى .
توابى اوزرنده صولک درجه نفوذ مالک اولوب (ايبو) نامنده کى مشاورى بيله قارا فاطمه مک خشم وحشتدن احتراز ايدردى .
قارا فاطمه طبعاً چنکاور اولدينى نسبتندهده خاطر نواز رحيم وشفقيدى .
آتقى ارنده رحمت وشفت لزومندن فضله دکادى .
قارا فاطمه شاين مرحمت اولانلره رحيم ، نظام قويلرک نظام ومدهش دشنى ايدى . تاريخاً مضبوط الک مهم الک پارلاق وقايى روسيه محاربه سى هنکانه کزدان ايتشدر .

روسيه اردولرى ادرشروى محاسره ايتديکي شانده قارا فاطمه عزيزيه طايه سنده معيتمه کى اوچ دوتريک کرد چنکاوريله برى معاونت ومداينه بولونوردى . بوبويوک اسلام والده سى عسکرک ايچمچکنى بيه چکنى احتضار ، ياره ليرى نداوى ايدر اوموزيله مجروحين عسکري يي خسته . شانلره قدر طاشيردى . دشمن عزيزيه طايه سنده هر صورتله مدافعه سنده ايراز ايل بن مانت وشدک نامنلوب اولدينى آکلاچيه حليه مراجعت ايله برکيجه ياريسى عسکر مزلر ققوشى يقينه صوفش اولدينى برقره برتنک اديروب ققوشک لابه سنى سوندرمش وعسکرلرم دشمن باصدي نظليه

یکدیگر بی صباحه قدر قتل ایند کد انصره دشمن کمال استراحتله طایبه بی ضبط اچمشدی . دشمنک بو شنیع حیلله مغلوبیتزدن صوگ درجه منفعل و متاثر بولسان قره فاطمه هان ارضوم ایجریلرینه کینمش و طوبلادینی ارکک قادیانر کینج ، اختیار بر چوق و طنداشی تفنک بوله مدیفتدن اولردن بولدردنی بالله ، ساطیر نلنجه تسلیج ابدوب عزیزیه طایبه سینه هجوم و کاله قورشون یدمورلری قارشوسنده اصلا بیلمایوب بیگلرجه کیشی شهید ایدلرکی حالده یوز چورماتش و طایبه نیک خندقلرلی دشمنک لشاریله طولدره دق . عزیزیه طایبه سنی تکرار بدضیغه مگیرمشدی .

مساوات

• قادیانر ایله ارکک آراسنده •



محرره سی
قابیل دورونشوروا
قادیانر حاجی اووزون عقلی قیسه برحق اولدور .
مترجمه سی
• صافیہ بران •
شون هاور

بر ایکی سوز

نه قدر ایستیموردیم! « دنیای » هرکون عظیم انشراح ایله او قودلیم کونلر ، کندی کندی نه قدر سولیشیم : شوکتانی ترجمه ایتیم ، دنیامزک قارملری ، قادیانله عاقل شکایتلی ، ساده بزدن دکل برفرانسز قوتسنت آغزینده ده دیکله سولو اوت پارسک الک معتبر قاملالرتدن برینه منسوب برقادین ! حقوق انسانی بیز ، بیچاره شرق قادیانری کیمی من الازل زنجیرله ووراش دکل .. فقط یابیکیز! رنگین استکبارنیک فشافش احتشامی قارشوسنده ، برلری اوین ارککلره ، وقارلی برتیمی بیله چوق کوردکن نه هجرانی شکایتلی وار :

اسارتدن مشکلی .. هرده انکتره نیک ، آمریقالک اختلاجلی سونرازه نلری کچی ، مساوات سیاسی طلب انجیور . عاقله اچینده مقدور اولدیندن بحث ایتش . آمان یارب شرقد و قار الوهیتی خللدار ایدمجه قدر ذایل یاشایان بزقادینلره مرحمت ایت ..
کوکل ایستردی که • قادیانلرمزک • عصرلردن بری جیتنه حک ایدیلن بلاای اجتناعی ، فلا کنلری ، اسبابی ، شمعی بک معتبر

معنای ایکی کله .. عوامل و مؤثراتی ، او بوله چک برال چیقسون ده یازسین . بوتون قیلیریمز تر جان اولارق حایقیرسین . تاریخی پرله کیرسین . حالی اوتاندیرسین . آتی ده اولاندیرسین .
یونی بک بکلم . لکن ایشته ... انتظار دملرنده قادیانر فکیرلرندن استفاده ایدلم دیدم .

بلکه انتباهم ایچین ، ضعیف بر نفعه فعالیت برینه کچر . اوکاده احتیاجز بک چوقدر . محترم همشیره لرم . شالده قارلر ایچنه کومونش بر ، ملکتنک قادیانری ، وطنلرینک حریتی اوغورنده سونکولره ، سینه آچارلر ، سیریلک موت آلود منافسانه آتیلرلر! غریبه ، دنیایک تا او بر طرقد ، بر طاق قادیانر انسونیک زاکتنی کلیا اونوته دق قانی خنجرلرله فودان ایدرلرکن بز . آه فورجالامالیم
شمعی ازی ترجمه یاشلا یورم . ایلروده ایجاب ایدرسه ، قادیانلرک حقوقه متعلق آرادده جریان ایتش مکتوبلری ده نشر ایدمجهکم .

مساوات

هرکس فهنیزمدن بحث ایدییور . مثله بک حرارتلی . شمعی به قدرده امثالی کورولمیش بر شدله حکم سورمه ک باشلادی . برنده بوتون قادیانرک زواللی بیلرلی طولیران یومسمله حقدده برترایزمنی دوشوندم . بعض قادیانر بونی احتیال که فریتده اولمیه دق حس ایدرلر . لکن امین اولکیز ، ههای اخلاق برولقان . محتویات آتیشنی کونکنده فصل صافلارسه ، بوحیاتده قادیانلرک قلمبنده اولیه مدنوندر .

بوانکاری قبول ایتدیرمک اوت بلکه مشکل اولاجق در . لکن سوکنده : ظفریت وار اوندن امین .

آرزو ایدرم که قارملرم مطالعاته ، واونلرک ترین ایچین میدان قویه جق اولدیم بعض جالب ذقت خاطراته قارشی بی طرف وصیمی قالسینلر . ذاتا کندیلرندن تمی ایتدیکم یکانه لطفده بودر . شو ارده کمال اهمله عرض ایتک ایستدیم بر نقطه وار . نه میزیم بعض محیطلرده حقیقه ایلری کیدیور . کیدیور لکن بوکون ، اکثریت طرفدن مدانمه ایدلرزه بوغولوب سوخته محکومدر . شمعی بز قادیانر انقلاب دورنده بز . آه استفاده ایچین نه مکمل زمان ! کتابلرله اولسون ، قوتلر انسلرله اولسون ، نه واسطه بولورسق بولالم ، فقط فمیزیم کله سنک جاهلی . یوانان قادیانلرک قولاقلرینه حایقیرالم . اونلره اوکر نه کم که اوکله بر معنای عصائی دکل ، برمال منطق و حقایقنی تعین ایدر . واقعا بعض بویولر محرم رشمدی به قدر بزه ظهیر اولاکلر سده اونلرک صحابی هیچ بر وقت نرم کندی کدمنه وجوده کنیره کیمز قوت الظاهره نمائل واونلر کچی مؤثر اولاماز .

آمال و احتیاجلرک تحلیل و تدقیقده نه قدر ایلری کتسه لرینه دوشونجولریمیزی نرم قدر بیله منزل . ذاتا مدانه لرینه برده مرحمت قارشیه جنی طبیی دگیلدر ؟ اوله یا بز اونلرک کوزلرنده ، قانون کچی ، عادات و عنعنات کچی اساسات اجتناعی ایله بویوندور دق آتیه کیرمش ، مقدور و متوکل قریانلرزا! اوت اوله ایدی . بوکون ، ووندن سوکره اوکا تحمل یوق . ایشته نهمده اشیاهه چالیشدیم! نقطه بن موده دن بر قادییم . حسلریمی جنس قوی به قارشو اظهار کین و عداوت ایتدیرک ، مرارت روحیه و احتراسانه قایلیمقیزین دو که جکم ، اعتراف ایدرم که مدانمات و محاکمه بر آرز شدید اولقله برابر بن ارککلرک هان هان داغا خوش اولان مجلسلرندن خوشلانیم . نه قدر مشکلیسند کورولسم ینه اولم ، موجودیم اوزرند . ائی بر تأثیر براققدن خالی قالماز . ضرب مثل نه دیور باقه کز آ : چوق سوه چون خیربالار . بودعهده اونک حکمی بری بولاجق . اثریمی اوقومق زحمتی اختیار بویور اناردن رجالدیم . بی بردشمن مفرط اولارق تلقی ایلمینلر . آلتیان اولماسلر . بوتون کتله خطابا صا ووردیم اعتراضلک ، هسبی اوزرلرینه

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